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East & West

VOL. I.

APRIL, 1902.

No. 6.

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QUEEN VICTORIA AS WIFE AND MOTHER.

THE Victorian era of the history of England by far excelled in certain respects even the glorious Elizabethan period. Queen Victoria, in the eloquent and impressive words of Macaulay, was "a gentler, wiser and happier Elizabeth." Apart, however, from all the lofty attributes of royalty with which Her Imperial Majesty was so bountifully endowed, there is a special phase of her private life which eminently commends itself to the oriental mind. In our eastern countries a woman at the head of a Hindu household, devoting her life to the exercise of the tenderest relations of life as mother, wife, and housewife, is regarded with the utmost veneration, and is adored as a pattern of the excellence of womanhood—the model housewife (Grihini) or Griha Lakshmi, as she is called—the household goddess of plenty and prosperity. Such we find to be the character of the late Empress of India, in its domestic aspect, and this is highly appreciated as making the most lasting impression upon our Hindu heart.

She was a model mother. She spared no trouble in looking after her children so as to render them fit physically, mentally and morally for the duties of their exalted position. Influenced by the deepest love for her children she had an eye upon all arrangements for their proper training. She herself saw that all furniture and clothing provided for them were good and adequate, but at the same time wasteful extravagance and luxury were carefully avoided in that department of her household. The same cradle, the same christening robes, the same lace-veils and gowns were used by her babies in succession. She always made time to bathe with her own hands the new baby. The children's quarters were placed next to Her Majesty's chamber, with a view to always having her children under her own eye. A course of religious training too, marked out

by herself, was given to the children, and she anxiously kept watch over their moral character. Even the slightest faults and misconduct on their part were never overlooked, summary punishment being dealt out as a corrective; whereas good conduct was amply rewarded. The children, on their part, always held her in the deepest reverence and love. All Her Majesty's domestic affairs were under her immediate supervision, so as to always ensure all possible comfort and happiness to the members of the household.

In our eastern countries, where married ladies are accustomed to worship their husbands as their earthly gods with the utmost degree of veneration and love, the affectionate devotion of a loving wife, especially in the high and exalted position occupied by Her Majesty, cannot fail to touch a most sympathetic chord in the Hindu heart and evoke the highest admiration. Rarely, indeed, does the connubial chronicle of ordinary men and women run parallel to the history of royal marriages under western civilisation. Matrimony among royal personages is, as a rule, a matter of State policy where the heart is least concerned—the dearest affections giving way to the interests of the State. In Her Majesty's case, however, State reasons did not, most fortunately, militate against her personal inclination. Her wedded life was typical of domestic peace. In her life there was a felicitous blending of the sovereign's dignity and the peaceful joys of a wife and mother.

"Albert has completely won my heart, and everything has been settled between us this morning"—such was the simple announcement of the selection of the partner of her life—her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. From this union, as after-events amply testify, sprang the greatest happiness of her life. There was never an ebbing in the deep and loving attachment between them. Her unremitting devotion to duty as a wife and mother was the fairest and richest ornament that adorned her life—an ornament which an Indian, and a Hindu of all Indians, can fully appreciate and admire. This particular trait of her private life will ever remain engraven on every Hindu heart.

It is rarely in the history of any nation that we find one, like Queen Victoria, in whom there is the embodiment of the ideal sovereign, the ideal wife and the ideal mother. She lived for the love of her husband, the affection of her children, and for the good

of her people. The goodness of her heart diffused sunshine on all around her.

In a letter written on the 27th of July, 1857, by the Queen to her uncle, King Leopold of Belgium, Her Majesty said:

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At the close of 1861, when it pleased God suddenly to cut off Prince Albert at the age of forty-two, the heaviest blow, for the

by herself, was given to the children, and she anxiously kept watch over their moral character. Even the slightest faults and misconduct on their part were never overlooked, summary punishment being dealt

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sovereign, the ideal wife and the ideal mother. She lived for the love of her husband, the affection of her children, and for the good

of her people. The goodness of her heart diffused sunshine on all around her.

In a letter written on the 27th of July, 1857, by the Queen to her uncle, King Leopold of Belgium, Her Majesty says: "I count upon the hours until he (her husband) returns; all the numerous children are nothing to me when he is away. It seems as if the whole life of the house and home were gone." How like the feelings and sentiments of a devoted Hindu wife—of Sita, Savitri, and Damayanti of the classic days of old, and of their prototypes in the annals of the modern Hindu race! A Hindu, strong in his faith in the doctrine of re-incarnation, is almost tempted to cherish with a feeling of pleasure and pride the honest conviction that our late beloved Sovereign in her previous birth must have adorned some exalted Hindu family, as an exemplary wife and mother.

Again, there is a passage in her Diary, which runs thus:—

"God grant that I may be the happy person, the most happy person, to make this dearest and blessed being (her husband) happy and contented. What is in my power to make him happy I will do." The very acme of the hopes and aspirations of a true Hindu wife!—the be-all and end-all of her existence!

In a conjugal squabble with her husband, in the early days of her wedded life, the Prince Consort, chagrined and vexed, retired into his room and locked the door. The Queen, after an hour's patient waiting, stepped up to his door, rapped, and said, "Albert, come out." "No, I will not," replied the Prince from within; "go away and leave me alone." This was too much for the royal temper, which was ruffled. "Sir," she said, "come out at once—the Queen, whose subject you are, commands you." He obeyed immediately, entered the room she pointed out, and sat down for a long time in sullen silence which was broken first by the Queen. "Albert," she said, "speak to me." "Does the Queen command it?" he asked. "No," she replied, throwing her arms about his neck, "your wife begs it." The manner in which the little connubial difference was made up was so Indian in its simplicity, that it could not fail to come home to the heart of many a Hindu as one of the striking characteristics of his own domestic life.

At the close of 1861, when it pleased God suddenly to cut off Prince Albert at the age of forty-two, the heaviest blow, for the

Queen's happiness, fell upon her. The bereavement was, indeed, too much for her, for in her beloved consort she had found at once a dutiful husband, counsellor and friend. Who could conceive what terrible anguish she endured, what burning tears she shed, what pangs of forlorn widowhood she suffered for the dear departed partner of her life ? She would not have survived the severe blow, " could sorrow kill." Even under the weight of such an affliction, how like a Hindu *sati* did she patiently and resignedly submit to the will of God, foregoing the 'more ornamental' functions of the sovereign and trying to find consolation in the affectionate reverence and devoted love of her numerous children and grandchildren, in the sincere attachment and sympathy of her people at home and abroad, and above all, like a devout Hindu widow, in an unswerving faith in a merciful Providence.

JOTEENDRO MOHAN TAGORE.

PARACELSUS.

ROBERT BROWNING was first amongst the writers of last century to penetrate the dark cloud of odium, ridicule and misrepresentation, which for three hundred years had hidden from acknowledgment and gratitude, the reformer of scientific methods, the student of nature, the man of genius, who revolutionised the art of healing, whether of internal malady or of wounds. Much had been said and written of Philip Theophrastus Bombastorn von Hohenheim, but very little had been said and written in his favour. For the man did not come with quiet germination like a grain of mustard-seed, but with violence and upheaval like a volcano. Two thousand years of ignorance and slavish obedience to authority lay heavy upon the stultified mind of his age, and only the mighty throes of a Herculean passion could rend the tomb and release its prisoner.

In the early thirties, Robert Browning was attracted to the study of this astonishing nature. The Lives of him, in every language, and dating from the sixteenth century, were all tainted by the same misprision which thwarted and blighted his career. That by Oporinus, his unworthy secretary, formed their basis, and its slanders were supplemented by those violent passages in his treatises and lectures, which seemed to support them. There was no effort to discover the real man either in his actions or in his writings, until Browning, with equal powers, saluted this gifted soul, and appraised him not by the infamous depreciation of his contemporaries, but by his own treatises; those marvellous revelations not only of knowledge, but of the authentic student and *pioneer*, ardent, indomitable, painstaking and sincere, with a rarely exemplified faculty for sifting the true from the false, and a power as rare for co-relating all that he exempted from suspicion and recognised to

be solid gain. When *Paracelsus*, the poem, appeared in 1834, its readers were startled by the poet's choice of a charlatan as its subject, and some of them were sent by it to study the man, Paracelsus, from this fresh and surprising standpoint. The poem, as we know, was read by few in those days and recognised by fewer. But its day was to arrive half a century later, when scientific development had strengthened men's minds, and ethical progress had opened men's hearts to the poet's teaching. There can be little doubt that in England its success heralded a new literature respecting Paracelsus, whose Treatises were translated and edited by Mr. Waite, and whose Life was rewritten from Browning's standpoint. The concluding ten years of last century form an epoch for students of Paracelsus, and the first year of this saw the publication of Professor Netzhammer's admirable Life, compiled with that scholarly painstaking which is a characteristic of German research, and all the more remarkable for its justice to the man, that he was well-known to be sympathetic towards the Reformation, while his biographer holds high place in the Catholic Church.

But Browning died before these Lives were written, and was acquainted with only the earlier and calumnious accounts of his hero, whom he may be said to have recreated through the poet's supreme gift of veracious vision.

It is as a help to the full understanding of this greatest of Browning's poems, that I venture to recall the main facts of Hohenheim's extraordinary career. These take each a place in its inspired record, mantled with fitting detail and throbbing with a subjective life, which we admit to be the impulse, reflection and action of the man pourtrayed.

In the ninth century the holy Meinrad left the shores of Lake Zurich and climbed up the Etzel where he built himself a hermitage. But finding that meditation was impossible on the heights from which he could too well survey the lake and villages clustering round its banks, he moved downwards, over the stream known as the Sihl and into the dark recesses of the forest beyond. Here in a rude cell he lived, and here he died about the year 861.

The fame of the hermit went near and far throughout Switzerland and the Tyrol, and his hermitage, or Einsiedeln, became the resort of constant pilgrimage during the tenth and succeeding centuries.

The Benedictines built a Church to Maria Einsiedeln, and, about 1120, the bridge over the Sihl known as the Devil's Bridge.

Houses began to rise in the neighbourhood of church and bridge, and by the end of the fifteenth century, the straggling town was sufficiently important to require a resident doctor, for whom the pilgrimages supplied work during the summer and autumn, and who found in neighbouring villages patients enough for the months of winter.

It was about 1490 that Dr. Wilhelm Bombast von Hohenheim accepted the post of town-doctor in Einsiedeln. He had been invited by the Abbot of the Benedictines there, and seems to have been selected as a man of high reputation and of good parentage. He was, in fact, a nephew of the Prince of Hohenheim of that day, although perhaps an illegitimate son of the Prince's brother. His education had been well cared for, and his renown as a student of medicine forestalled his arrival and prepared for him a good reception amongst the townspeople. A year later, he married the daughter of one of the most respected of these, a member of the Ochsuer family, whose father lived in a large house close to the bridge, a house still standing at the end of the eighteenth century, and known as the Paracelsus House. In this house, Dr. Bombast and his wife dwelt for eleven years, and here, on December 17th, 1493, their only child was born. He was christened Philip Theophrastus, the latter name being given by his father in honour of Theophrastos Tirtamos, a celebrated disciple of Aristotle. This was his favourite name, and after the manner of the scholars of that time he paraphrased it into Paracelsus, when he was a student at Bâle. It is difficult to ascertain whether the name Aureolus was given him at his christening, or whether it was a pet name for him at home. That he sometimes used it as an integral part of his signature is certain.

Here, in Einsiedeln, he received his first instruction from his mother in religion, for we find him going to the old church with her, and becoming lost in the ecstasy of devotion, when he was still a little child. From his father he received, as he later gratefully acknowledged, the ground-work of all his future attainments. Dr. Bombast dedicated him to his own profession, and began early to, enunciate its principles according to the scholastic teaching of his day.

mingling with his lessons some initiations into the occultism with which all mediæval science was complicated. For the wonder of things took this form at a time when positive research seemed impious, and the mysticism of the neo-Platonists gave sanction and perpetuance to the dogmas of Egyptian, Greek and Arab doctors, men great in their time, but whose authority paralysed progress. There seems, however, good reason to believe that Dr. Bombast was himself a man of some originality, and drew his boy's attention to nature in the herbs of the field and the stones of the mountains. He possessed books, too, apparently, because from his childhood, Theophrastus was used to pore over the Latin writings of such ecclesiastics as combined the study of medicine and alchemy with that of theology and philosophy.

In 1502, Dr. Bombast removed from Einsiedeln to Villach, the capital of Carinthia, where he filled the post of town physician till his death in 1534. Here for some years we lose sight of Theophrastus, although it has been suggested that he was sent to the monastery of St. Andrew in the valley of the Save for further instruction. He was certainly ready for the University at Bâle about his seventeenth year, and in his own fashion continued to pore over the writings of abbots, bishops, and others learned in mysticism and medicine. Of these he has left a list in one of his surgical treatises. Amongst them, two were of paramount importance for his fuller training, and doubtless were influential in turning his attention to the necessity for positive research, if the healing arts were to be rescued from the bunglers and butchers who professed to practise them. These two men were Johannes Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, near Würzburg, in Bavaria, and Sigmund Fûger of Schwatz, in whose mines and silver-works, Theophrastus spent a considerable period of arduous research. The Abbot's teaching seems to have preceded that of the mines and laboratories at Schwatz. Trithemius was not only one of the most learned men of his time, but also one of the most enlightened, and there can be little doubt that from him Theophrastus learned definitely the worthlessness of the amazing mixture of scholarship and superstition which the doctors of his day accepted without question. The mortmain of Rhasis, Galen, Hippocrates, Aristotle (strangely perverted by scholasticism) Averroes and Avicenna lay heavy upon the so-called healing

art, and neither in medicine nor in surgery did even those who, like Abbot Trithemius, knew its futility, dare to dispute its authority.

"They laboured and grew famous, and the fruits are best seen in a dark and groaning earth, given over to a blind and endless strife. With evils, what of all their lore abates?" Paracelsus left Trithemius about 1515, convinced that he must graduate in a University where nature was the only teacher, if he were to acquire even the rudiments of knowledge. It is possible that his first journey was to Schwatz, because at some time near the beginning of his ten years of itinerant research, he spent a number of months, perhaps a year altogether, in mining at Schwatz and in experiments with metals and minerals in the famous laboratories, built by Sigmund Fuger. He had some curiosity as to a possible philosopher's stone, but without expectation of its gold-producing faculty. Either really, or figuratively, he expected from the labours of alchemy some fundamental result, which should confer on the successful experimentalist some almost divine power of diagnosis and of remedial wisdom.

It should be here interpolated that Paracelsus was a profoundly religious man, that amongst the studies prosecuted under Trithemius was a most careful reading of the Bible, with whose books he had a very unusual acquaintance, and that from every one of his treatises we can gather his extraordinary faith in the omnipotence of the Creator and Preserver, God, to whom he always looked for direction, and from whom he confidently expected a fuller revelation of the forces hidden in nature. It has been suggested that he was in some degree affiliated to the Benedictine order, and that his celibacy was due to vows taken at Sponheim—but this is not substantiated, and he remained unmarried, so far as we may divine from his works, because he felt that upon him rested that high commission to break asunder the bonds of ignorance and darkness, and to bring to the dawning a new day for the healing of the nations, and that if entangled either in domestic cares or in the degenerating influences of vicious living, he could not fulfil what he believed to be the will of God for the world through him.

The results of his residence at Schwatz were of great importance, both to himself and to pharmacy. He discovered no philosopher's stone and realised that the search was like "threshing empty straw,"

but he did discover, or at all events begin to apprehend, what became one of his fundamental principles, when, long after at Beritzhausen, he published his whole system of physiology—that within all that exists there are healing powers either for the body or the spirit, and that these are to be diligently sought out by the help of chemistry for the one sort, by the help of revelation for the other. “The true use of alchemy,” he asserts, “is not to make gold, but to make medicines.” And again “through nature we enter medicine.”

Already well acquainted with all that the Greek philosophers had taught up to the system of Aristotle, he held for foundation their division into elements and sub-divisions into metals, stones, animals, vegetables, etc., but from that point he sub-divided and catalogued anew. In fact, this extraordinary power of exact discernment was his most distinguished intellectual faculty, and led him to form theories of comparative physiology, and even of something like evolution, so far in advance of his own time that they have been overlooked for centuries as monstrous, and have only during the last fifty years received endorsement from men of science. But what occupied him chiefly at Schwatz was his discovery of the wide prevalence and important properties of sulphur, mercury, and salt. Amongst metals he analysed zinc, bismuth, iron, lead, quicksilver, antimony, penetrating to their medicinal uses and achieving such preparations of each as could be made practicable. Some of his preparations were largely used a generation ago in private life, as a certain grey powder administered in jam to unwilling little people, who are still alive. He made other investigations as to the chemical rather than medicinal uses of minerals, and of the gases generated by their means.

It is difficult to be quite sure of the order of his wanderings, but probably he now visited the more important of the German universities and made himself acquainted with the condition of the faculty of medicine at each, soon discovering that mental stagnation was not confined to Switzerland and Bavaria. He went south, therefore, to Italy, from university to university, hoping to find some sympathetic germination in the country most renowned over Europe or its physicians. The hope was disappointed both in Italy and in France. It was in despair at the dry scholarship of all these famous centres that he determined to turn his back upon

the universities and to find, in intercourse with those who lived in closest touch with nature, that other learning of experience, of undestroyed mother wit and wisdom, which might help him to new research, direct and unconventionalised. We know, on his own authority, that he visited the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden and Russia, after a comprehensive tour through Spain and England. He may have visited Morocco from the south of Spain, but this is not substantiated from his writings, although we can readily suppose him eager to follow up what the south of Spain and France must have taught him about Moorish science. He was certainly well acquainted with all that had been done for Western Europe by the Moorish conquests in laying the foundations of universities for mathematics, astrology, alchemy, and medicine. From the wilds of Russia and sojournings amongst its Tartar Nomads, he passed into Lithuania, Hungary, Dalmatia and the Danubian provinces. We only hazard the order of his wanderings, although we know that he was well acquainted with all these countries. His new method of acquiring knowledge was to mix with all sorts and conditions of men. He says: "In whatever place I found myself, I zealously and diligently made enquiry for all that was known as to the illnesses of the place and the medicines used, and this not only from the doctors, but from barbers, bath-servants, wise women, dealers in black magic, alchemists, monks, from nobles and men of the people, from the learned and the simple."

He made special research into the treatment of wounds received in battle, and for that purpose held the post of surgeon to the army in Venice, the Netherlands and Denmark. No means by which the diseases of a country and their treatment could be understood was neglected by this courageous man. He lived with nomadic tribes, with gipsies, sharing their hardships and their freedom, and watching with acute attention their healing processes, most of these learnt straight from nature, and availing more than all the pharmacy of Avicenna.

When in later life, these wanderings were made a reproach against him, he answered straight to the point: "Do you think by staying at home and turning fruit over in the oven to acquaint yourself with the diseases that obtain throughout the world? What you want to know you must seek after, as he who seeks after God must

go to God, who says : 'Come unto me.' If perchance a strange disease came to the oven-corner doctor, what could he do ? But had he gone where that disease is common, he would know what it was and how to treat it."

He supported himself through these ten years, by accepting such posts as those already mentioned, by lecturing, by curing the sick and the wounded, by demonstrating chemical experiments, by accepting the hospitality of nomadic peoples and sharing their toils. Often he was reduced almost to starvation and rags, but his courage never broke down and his determination never wavered. It is probable that going so far east, he made a stay of some months at Constantinople, but we have no evidence of a visit to Samarcand. At Constantinople, he would meet orientals, and perhaps it was there that he became acquainted with the narcotics whose uses he added to the pharmacy of Western Europe. The tincture of opium, which he called labdanum, is specially associated with him, after his return to Switzerland.

In Venice, Tintoretto met him at a banquet and was impressed by his powerful and sensitive features ; he made a rough sketch of him which some years afterwards assisted him to recall Paracelsus when he painted a three-quarters portrait of the then celebrated man, and this shows him as at Venice, still a young man with lofty brow and curling hair, the face not yet clean-shaved as in the later portraits, the eye still keen and visionary, "as if where'er he gazed there stood a star," not yet clouded with the unspeakable sadness of those who come to bring truth into the world and suffer martyrdom for their reward. When he felt that he had passed from the outworn learning of the schools and had graduated in the mighty school of nature where he toiled to attain for ten years, he returned to Western Europe, bent on revolutionising its teaching, and on conferring upon mankind all that he had gleaned from "the wide East where all Wisdom sprung, the bright South where she dwelt."

He chose Strassburg, which had then some renown for its school of surgery, for his first residence. To this school he attached himself, buying his citizenship in December 1526. He was now thirty-three years old, but his labours and privations had given him the look of premature middle-age. He entered at once into disputation with the Strassburg surgeons and doctors, a method of making

known new theories in religion, philosophy and medicine common to those and to earlier times. But his residence was soon cut short, for he was summoned to Bâle to attend Frobenius, who was suffering from a serious malady in his right leg, which the doctors wished to amputate. Paracelsus gradually assuaged the pain, secured sleep to the patient, and finally cured the evil without having recourse to an operation. Frobenius was once more able to stand upon his feet and to prosecute his important business of publisher without further inconvenience than some stiffness of the toes. This cure brought Paracelsus into special prominence at Bâle, and we find him on friendly terms with Erasmus, *Æcolampadius* and other reformers there, and their recommendation procured for him the posts of town physician and professor at the university.

He began his duties, equipped indeed with knowledge far beyond that of any contemporary man of genius, but with health undermined by the hardships and disappointments of the foregoing years, and conscious that, endowed although he was, the highest and profoundest secrets had eluded him, and that the vision of his youth had seemed to promise him vaster treasures than the reversal of all conventional systems, the laborious initiation of experimental research and the attainment by its means of an increasing number of valuable facts. The man had aimed at omniscience and had to accept the creature's, not the Creator's share. But compared to what others knew, that share was immense.

As not infrequently happens to a nature formed on large and simple lines, he united to indomitable moral courage a great sensitiveness to the attacks of rancour and misrepresentation. The magistrates of Bâle had dismissed a physician of the old school to make room for him, and he was thus provided with a watchful enemy from the beginning.

The pharmacy of Avicenna was at that time the store-house from which remedies were prescribed, although the great Arabian apothecary would have shrunk from the sixteenth century application and vitiation of his receipts. These were so opposed to all that Paracelsus had discovered of the qualities and uses both of mineral and vegetable drugs, and were so tainted with superstitions and often disgusting preparations, that he gave to the collection the scornful name of "kitchen-medicine." As it was essential to

clear the minds of his students from all adhesion to this pernicious pharmacy, he took occasion at an early lecture in Bâle to burn a copy of the Canon of Avicenna in a brasier on which he had cast sulphur. Many of the young students applauded the act, but the doctors who had come from far and near to attend his lectures were horrified at what seemed to them a sacrilege.

He was accused of burning all the ancient books of medicine, and the fallacy has survived until now, although he expressly states that it was the Canon of Avicenna alone. With the exception of the few larger minded amongst the professors and doctors, he estranged the whole faculty, but many of them continued to attend his lectures, in the hope of surprising some of the secrets of his own pharmacy, with which he continued to cure patients whose cases seemed hopeless. Their cunning was without avail. Theophrastus taught the methods, not the results of research. "I hold to no teaching from antiquity," he said, "but to what I myself have discovered, through prolonged experiment and experience to be true"; and again: "Nature is the text, the doctor only the interpreter." His lectures in the large room looking out on the Rhine sought to bring back all training to that book.

It was an easy matter for him to discover that the apothecaries of Bâle kept none of the drugs he required, and but small quantities of those which were generally used. They were steeped in ignorance and knew almost nothing of the drugs which they sold, and kept these carelessly, not renewing their stock with fresh supplies, and allowing what they had to grow flavourless and old. He applied to the magistrates for leave to inspect their premises regularly, and to insist on their keeping sufficient quantities in good condition. The apothecaries in a body joined the outcry against him. Paracelsus was not a man to keep silence where he despised and resented. The audience in that lecture-hall had to listen to his witty invectives, and while the younger students were enthusiastically for him, the older men were more and more embittered against him. It may be that jealousy of his renown actuated the main body of his colleagues in the university, because they formulated the strange demand that he should be examined as to his knowledge of the Greek, Latin and Arabic authorities whom he declared to be no longer serviceable. We know how thoroughly he had studied these and how well his

superb memory would have carried him through such an ordeal; we know too how conversant he was with both Greek and Latin, using these languages when he wrote to the great scholars of that time—but he preferred to use German as the language in which he lectured, for the evident reason that he could be better understood by his students whom he had to lead in such unaccustomed paths. Other leaders of thought had done the same centuries before, but it was turned into an accusation of ignorance by his eager enemies. Matters came to a head with a set of scurrilous and insolent verses, written in Latin, and pinned up to the doors of the principal churches and the Exchange early one Sunday morning. In these, Galen from the Suferno professes to cast back in the teeth of his detractor the aspersions upon the ancient system common in the lectures of Theophrastus, and insults him as an ignorant fool or madman. All Bâle rang with laughter at the verses, and it behoved the indignant professor to take steps to set himself right in the eyes of town and university. He appealed to the magistrates in a letter which betrays how deeply he resented the cowardly offence and how little he hoped for justice from the scarcely less cowardly authorities, whom he addressed with hardly veiled irony as his “strong, noble, firm, honourable, prudent, wise, cultured, gracious sirs.” It was later that he avenged himself upon his anonymous foe, when he pilloried him for ever in the preface to his most celebrated book—that in which he gave to the world the systems, physiological and medicinal, which are now recognised to be closely related to the systems of the most modern discoverers and thinkers—his *Paragranum*.

This and the refusal of an ecclesiastical noble to pay his justly earned fee for restoring to him the power of sleep, brought about a furious letter from Paracelsus addressed again to the magistrates, who were too much afraid of the clerical dignitary to insist upon proper payment for the cure, and this caused his departure from Bâle, almost a flight, as his personal liberty seemed to be in danger. It is not wonderful that soon afterwards the University of Bâle had to close its doors for ten years. It had shut them upon the one man whose fame might have filled the halls with students and have made them famous throughout Europe; and the sequel is fitting. Paracelsus went to Colmar, whence he wrote two long letters in

Latin to Professor Amerbach, the only one of his colleagues who had the wit to recognise his greatness. To him he explained his reasons for the sudden step, and asked him to take his part when men villified him, adding the too often verified words "the truth draws hatred."

The nature of this great man was volcanic. He could control it for supreme ends, not for the mere petty peace of every day existence. A poorer soul would have pretended reverence for authority, would have sunk to the low standard which mediocrity admires, and would have kept his post and its emoluments. But God needed a volcanic nature to reform science, just as he needed superlative courage to reform the church. Paracelsus was to the one what Luther was to the other, and by his friends was called "the other Luther." It was in June, 1528, that he went to Colmar, and here he wrote some of his best treatises, in one of which he counsels all who practise medicine to do so with a true desire to further the well-being of all. We have not space to follow his wanderings after 1528. They include a residence in Nurnberg and Beritzhausen in the Lappenthal, where he wrote his most famous works *Paramirum* and *Paragranum*, in which we find not only his scientific theories, but some of his noblest dicta in religion. He finds no science without God, and believes in no cure without His help. "The heathen and the unbelieving cry to men for help," he says, "but you must cry to God. He will send you the deliverer, a holy man, a doctor, or himself. God is the first Doctor, and without Him nothing can be effected." He seems to have lived in St. Gallen in 1531 and in succeeding years in Innspruck, Meran, St. Moritz and in Appenzell. In his works of these years he praises the health-giving air of the Engadin. Many tractates on theology seem to have been the preoccupation of these years, and these almost equal in number his treatises on medicine, surgery and mysticism. He belonged to the time of the reformation and sympathised with the noble fight maintained by Luther. "Tell him," he said to Frobenius, "that his enemies are my enemies, and that they are those whose pockets he touches." But he read the Bible for himself and left amongst his effects a Bible, a New Testament and a Concordance. Under Abbot Trithemius he had studied the Vulgate version, now he studied Luther's Bible as well. No

man was ever more conversant with the scriptures, and no man was ever more independent in his use of them. He was bound by no theological system either of the Catholic or the Reformed Church. But his opinions approached those of the latter, and he held to the sacraments of the Lord's Supper and of Baptism as the only sacraments. On both of these he wrote interesting treatises. It was love to one another, which was the chief doctrine of this cruelly hated man, the doctrine of Jesus Christ, of St. John, of St. Francis, of all who follow in the divine footsteps. He too knew what it was to be a man of sorrows, God's man of sorrows, for what other earthly reward have those who love their neighbours as themselves? He taught good Samaritanism, entreating his readers to give help and healing to the poor without fee or reward. He judged the doctor to be worthy of reward from the rich, since he brought to them his knowledge, his medicines, his time—but to the poor he gave freely all that he had.

In 1534 his father died and four years later he received his inheritance at Villach. Before this happened, he was resident for a time in Augsburg, where Doctor Thalhauser, the town-physician, was his follower and friend. In these later years, spite of ill-health and occasional poverty, honour and respect from men capable of understanding him alleviated his sufferings from the implacable mediocrities, whose "pockets he touched." In 1537, he was in Villach, and dedicated to its townspeople several treatises in gratitude for their treatment of his father. Even here, the foreign doctors from Carniola, Styria and Carinthia crowded round him to insult him in the churchyard. But shortly after this, Ernest, Duke of Bavaria, Count Palatine and Archbishop of Salzburg, invited him to come to his court, as his private physician, and loaded him with the consideration and honour which were his due. There is some mystery about the final incidents. The old jealousy of the craft broke out again, and it is said that Paracelsus was attacked by hired assassins whose violence brought about his death. But there is also some reason to believe that his health was much impaired by this time and that his constant experiments in the manufacture of tinctures and preparations of mercury had especially weakened his physique, so that his death may have been natural in spite of the sinister rumour that his skull was discovered to be

fractured, when his remains were removed, in 1752, to their present resting-place by the wall of a chapel belonging to St. Sebastian's Church in Salzburg. It is better to believe that his enemies contented themselves with calumnies which only the last twelve years have wholly disproved. To the labours of Michael Schütz and Dr. Johannes Huser, soon after Hohenheim's death, and to the superb collection of his writings made only two years ago by Herr Sudhoff, we owe all that can be substantiated about his life and work, and to portraits taken probably when in Salzburg, we owe some knowledge of his appearance. They represent a finely built man, looking older than his forty-seven years, with a striking face, the brow broad and high and sloping up to a point, the head bald except at the sides where the white locks curl and wave, the features nobly formed, a long straight nose, a mouth with firm lips, its corners drooped, eyes large, direct with heavy lids and sad expression. His dress is a gown, doubtless the scarlet damask lined with fur in which he lectured, made with turned-down collar and sleeves to the wrist; about his neck is a chain on which hangs a jewel or relic, perhaps the coral set in silver-gilt mentioned in the inventory for his will, or the small silver box on a silver chain in which he may have kept his most precious drug,—his azoth. His hand clasps a sword, whose handle concealed opium to be used in extreme cases, and without which he was seldom seen.

His will is very touching; what money he had was left to a few old friends and to the poor; all his drugs and books to a surgeon in Salzburg, who had been worthy of his confidence.

The man belonged to the whole world, as much as did Socrates, Marcus Aurelius, St. Francis in the West, as Buddha, Ramananda, Chaitanya in the East, and it is time that West and East awoke to recognise his claim upon their gratitude.

ANNA M. STODDART.

IS FRANCE DETERIORATING ?

II.

[Reference has been made to the terrible crisis which the vinedressers underwent in 1878.]

.....

GREAT were the virtues displayed during that crisis. Yet they would not have sufficed, had they not been supported by a valuable faculty which is a sort of resultant of all the aptitudes and inclinations of the race—thrift. France is a powerful accumulator of energies. Among us vital strength is not wasted ; it is restrained and hoarded. That sense of proportion, so remarkable in the products of French genius, is shown as the rule of French activity. Nothing is wasted. In the life of each family the law of least effort is put into practice with a traditional and consummate skill. Whether it be praised or blamed, such is the lesson taught by our forefathers to their children ; and that lesson is dignified by the fact that it forces each individual to a perpetual sacrifice and a constant subordination of the present to the future, of life to after-life. Everyone has to control his pleasures and wants, in order to prepare the cradle or the happiness of coming generations. That touching and familiar solidarity which, as it widens and is made permanent, becomes the national continuity, has been for long a tradition among us. Nicolas Pasquier wrote to his son : “Begin to lay by early. . . . Any saving concerning household affairs is an incredible gain and far above the other gains.”

After the lapse of centuries, the nation still puts into practice Pasquier's advice, and every day is its efficacy proved. If it bears calamities which would have crushed other peoples, it is on account of its economy ; if in general crises it has sometimes been able to afford a useful support to the universal prosperity, when it was

threatened, it is due to its savings ; if it can answer the summons of other nations preparing for a new course ; if it is permitted to its capital to aim at equalizing, on the different points of the globe, the conditions of labour, the fruitful carefulness of France contributes to it no less than the universal activity or the bold initiative of the other great productive Powers. In the working of international credit, so pre-eminently modern, France plays a prominent part. When the crops are good, she invests, it is said, two milliards ; when they are indifferent, her strict economy can still save a considerable surplus. The carefulness, sometimes carried to excess, that governs her investments, is a trait of her character ; it has been blamed sometimes, but it is simply the logical practice of a virtue no more denied.

And in fact, such is the case in all economic matters, that people often mistake for want of power that which is mere prudence. The French method, so ill known, so ill appreciated, first of all sacrifices to mental equipoise, to reflection, to security ; it values precision and light.

The money, so plentiful among us, must come from somewhere. Saving could keep it. It would not have sufficed to produce it. In order to explain our increasing wealth, it must be admitted that we constantly gain through our struggle against the forces of nature, and our intercourse with foreigners. Where does this gain come from ? The common statistics are not very intelligible on this point. They give information about the figures of business or the tonnage of goods. They do not explain the real gain, and yet that is the whole question.

There also is the secret of the triumph of French production and trade. Let others stick to heavy and encumbering materials requiring great labour, considerable workmanship from which a small gain is indefinitely derived. The Frenchman, with his easy-going manners, is continually seeking the simplest products, the least complicated, the least expensive, which insure the largest and most certain remuneration.

French commerce wants select, rich and well-paying customers ; the long tradition which imposes her taste, her fashions, even her whims upon foreign countries, has allowed her to make a choice. How many tons of coals can represent the gain obtained through the sale

of a costume ; how many *litres* of beer for a bottle of champagne ; how many *mètres* of cotton for the knot of ribbon which gives the finishing touch to a bonnet made in the *Rue de la Paix* ; how many *stères* of Norwegian wood for the delicate panel signed by Meissonnier ?

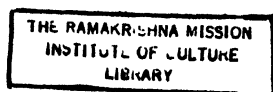
As long as French commerce keeps its pre-eminence, as long as it appeals to the ever increasing wealth of the Universe, as long as the refinement of its taste, the certainty of its glance and the qualities of its workmanship are acknowledged and appreciated, the public wealth ever increasing will victoriously answer peevish prognostics, and surprise by bright realities the mistaken pessimism of prophets of evil.

Through the wonderful series of the discoveries developed by the mobility of man on the surface of our planet, this planet seems as if it had suddenly grown smaller. None of its corners will be any longer hidden from the curiosity of man. At this very moment is heard on unknown continents the heavy tramp of the explorers. In half a century they do more work than did their predecessors in thousands of years. The routes of their itineraries will soon make a network on the map suddenly covered with life and animation. They people the deserts, they transport mountains, they rectify the curves of the rivers just as if they were remoulding the surface of the earth. Their history will become a legend, such as that of the ancient pilots who opened the Pillars of Hercules, who doubled the African Cape. They have filled with heroic pages the history of time supposed to be so dull, and I do not know indeed if there is in the annals of any epoch whatever a more dramatic episode than the appearance of Brazza's glorious rags on the shores of Stanley Pool deciding the fate of an Empire ; or the unparalleled march of the other African hero, whose glory is imperishable though deprived of the halo of success.

Statesmen have been long on the look out. On the 25th *Messidor*, *An V**, Choiseul's illustrious pupil, Talleyrand, on the point of becoming a minister of Foreign Affairs, communicated to the Institute his famous *Essay On the Advantages to be derived from the Possession of New Colonies* ; his conclusion ran thus : " Everything is inciting us to take an interest in new colonies , the example of the wisest peoples who have made of them one of the great means of

919.

° 14th of July, 1797.



tranquillity ; the need of preparing to replace our present colonies in order not to be behind the march of events ; the propriety of placing the cultivation of our colonial wares nearer their real cultivators ; the necessity of forming, by the means of colonies, the most natural relations, easier of course in the new establishments than in the old ones ; the advantage of not being outrun by a rival nation, for whom each of our faults, each of our delays, in the matter, is a conquest ; the opinion of the enlightened men who have cast their eyes on that object ; finally, the delight of being able to employ in such enterprises so many restless men needing new schemes, so many unlucky men in quest of Hope ! ”

Though the nineteenth century was engrossed in other tasks and moved by other passions, it did not totally neglect this warning. From 1830, France set her foot in Africa and in a masterly manner continued the tradition of Roman civilised colonisation. But the century had to proceed in order to enable a statesman of real merit to hurl—almost against its will—a whole generation, in the grand undertaking which was to restore to France another colonial empire.

Jules Ferry dictated the plan of the new conquest—Tunis, Tonkin, Congo, Madagascar, a vast quadrilateral which forms, henceforth, the frame-work of the new settlement. It was high time.

If the persevering intuition of the great statesman had not guessed and anticipated that movement, if France had not been beforehand, she would have met everywhere—it has been seen afterwards—resistance and rivalries which would have probably arrested her development. The world being warned would not have been taken by surprise. It was a unique opportunity, on no account to be missed. In less than a century the whole world would have been divided, the vacant lands occupied, the new frontiers definitely fixed. No room would have been left for new aggrandisements but at the cost of, terrible upheavals. Have we not witnessed in less than a generation at the door of Europe—Africa—which had remained unknown and barbarous for centuries, appearing, opening and submitting itself to the combinations and calculations of universal progress ?

And it is precisely in this mysterious Africa, on the shores and in the indefinitely extended territories, along the valleys watered by the great rivers Senegal, Niger, Congo, Chari, Oubanghi, on these immense

lands, amid the complexity of climates, populations and religions, that France has just spread her dominion, that is to say, created new duties.

Our other colonies, Indo-China—which penetrates like a wedge in the Asiatic world half-opened—Madagascar—the impregnable isolation of which commands at once the Indian Seas and South Africa—New Caledonia, placed as a sentinel in the Austral world—each of these colonies can find rapidly in itself the conditions of its future development. But, on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea, as an extension of the *Mere Patrie*, in the old furrows of the Roman world enlarged, African France, Algeria, Tunis, Senegal, Niger, Congo and Soudan have decisive problems in store for us. Some day the nursery of man, the source of new wealth, the culminating point of the triangular and massive continent, with its steep highlands which commands the three seas, will be there.

France scarcely understands the magnitude of the task. Tired of the effort of conquest, she takes breath—on the eve of making new efforts—on the banks of the gigantic rivers, the eternal forests explored by Stanley unfold their deep illimitable shades and their invaluable wealth. India-rubber grows on our domains ; on the other side of the Congo, little industrious Belgium has already shown the advantage that can be reaped from those very lands.

And now, if necessary, could not we find illustrious examples in our own history? When Richelieu, who was fully conscious of all the sources of French greatness, laid the foundation of our first Colonial Empire, when he pointed to Canada, Louisiane, Madagascar, Senegal and the East Indies, there was also in the country a moment of expectation and hesitation ; but under Louis XIV. Colbert summoned around him the representatives of all the classes, the holders of public activity, and imposed upon them, with the authority proceeding from a deep faith the co-operation and sacrifices that acquired wealth owes to new undertakings and productive initiatives. France answered the appeal. The clergy, the nobility, the *bourgeoisie*, the trade, amply offered the resources needed. The people gave both their courage and their work. And it so happened that, through the help of all these, that magnificent colonial creation, which has spread the French name as far as the extremities of the earth, was born and has prospered.

And to-day we are not lacking in courage or self-help—quite

the reverse is the case. Some of those men "in quest of schemes," "in need of hope," spoken of by Talleyrand, are still to be found. Even in its most backward and sedentary parts, the nation is moved. Here are immense lands, rich and fertile, but they want long sacrifices, a vast laying out of money, capital in fact. Capital, of course, is not lacking, but the holders are hesitating. Such is the present condition. Will France find a new Colbert? The Colonial Ministry is really the Department of the future destinies. It is there that the future of the nation resides. We must find there also wisdom and faith. May authority, wisdom and good faith be also found there!

What a fertile and admirable field! Spread all over the world the forces that you have kept so long unemployed and wasting. Do not go on saying that France is a nation of second rank, and that she has simply to bow to Destiny. Perceive the part that belongs to her, thanks to that recent and admirable effort, so ill appreciated, because it is newly born, but which has maintained the country among the five great Powers whose interests are spread all over the continents. Decide for this fresh start which only awaits a signal. Ask for the resources necessary to fertilise a new world; find out the juridical formulæ which will give the newly acquired wealth the guarantees necessary to enable it to help the wealth of to-morrow. In one word, summon the hesitating nation. Show a clear, precise programme proportionate to its strength, which is great, to its resources, which are immense, and which are coveted moreover by dubious speculations, so often of a foreign source. Move, rouse it to enthusiasm. It will be thankful to you for having dispelled its doubts, dissipated its anxieties, revived its old energies. The races are great and prolific, in proportion to the greatness and future of the tasks which are assigned to them.

And I must be clearly understood. The question is not only to make a vast show of conquest, not even an increase of public and private wealth; the question is to spread far beyond the seas on land, but yesterday barbarian, the principles of a civilisation of which one of the oldest nations of the globe can claim the right to boast. We have to create near us and far away *new Frances*; we have to preserve our language, our customs, our ideals, the Latin and French good reputation, and amid the impervious competitions of the other races, all *en marche* on the same roads.

I am not unaware that France has still towards herself other duties. • She has undertaken the difficult task of relieving miseries, pacifying passions, alleviating the weight of common life, reconciling minds and hearts. Such a task would, by itself, make a century illustrious ; but the two tasks have nothing contradictory. Liberty is a great school for activity.

When the father of history, Herodotus, having to give an *exposé* of the causes of Athenian greatness, had to make a comparison between the three forms of Government, he reckoned to the advantage of Democracy "its very magnificent name and very handsome promises, its power of engaging the hearts of the citizens to defend their constitution and to furnish to all a common bond of union and fraternity. This is the way," he said, "by which the Athenians increased in strength."

Must we sacrifice the hope of seeing something of that history renewed at a different epoch and in wholly different proportions ? Athens, thanks to her taste for Fine Arts, the progress of Science and Philosophy, the splendour of her Colonies, was an honour to the Hellenic world. May not France, through a powerful, free, harmonious development, aspire to be an honour to mankind ?

It seems that the comparison is inevitable, for an illustrious English historian, Grote, makes it in quoting this passage of Herodotus: "The active cause of the transformation of Athens," he says, "was the new principle and system, *i.e.*, the great and new idea of the people in supreme power, composed of free and equal citizens, or liberty and equality, to use those words which have deeply moved the French nation at the end of the last century. Democracy, in Greek antiquity, possessed the privilege not only of kindling eager and unanimous attachment to the constitution in the heart of the citizen, but also of creating an energy, such as could not be expected from another Government."

A more fertile activity, more lenient laws, "a common bond of union and fraternity," such are the benefits that France has the right to expect from the practice of liberty. Those lessons, however, have been transmitted to us by our elders of the great Mediterranean civilisation with the ardent and exclusive worship of the *Cité* and the *Patrie*.

Let France devote herself to develop and spread afar those

glorious traditions ; let us be confident in her power and destinies ; let her pacify her civil discords and become in the world the watchful apostle of tolerance and peace. Let her bring to her level the future generations of unknown populations the names of which history will learn with astonishment, and coming ages will gratefully speak of our beneficent *Patrie* as an educating and civilising power. She will receive the justice due to her ; and according to the customary law of her history, she will have proved, after a most serious crisis, that she has lost nothing of the authority and influence that fifteen centuries of useful and glorious life have rightfully insured to her.

G. HANOTAUX.

A DEAD CITY OF SASHTI.

MANY people who reside in or near the City of Bombay have heard of, even though they may not have visited, the village of Marol, which is reached by road either from Kurla, on the G. I. P. Railway, or from Andheri, on the sister line of rail; but very few, we suspect, have ever visited, nay more, have even heard of a solitary spot, only a few miles northward of Marol, which figures in the Revenue Survey Map as Parjapur. Nor is this provocative of surprise ; for Parjapur to-day is but one of several well-nigh deserted villages, and offers to the eye of the casual traveller nothing out of common with the ordinary features of a stretch of Salsette country—some low-lying fields, a few sparse huts of the Varli or Thakur, perhaps a superannuated tank fringed with fine trees, some undulating ground and upland, covered with scrub jungle and bearing traces here and there of firing, and in the distance the immutable and majestic hills of Aparantaka (the North Konkan). Parjapur, it is true, can boast of occasional visits by an errant tribe, or by the agent of the Khot, who now claims her as part of his possessions; but these visits are few, and scarce suffice to break the deep sleep which for hundreds of years has brooded upon her. By day the ringdove mourns ; the cry of the owl sounds through the stillness of the night ; and Parjapur, sleeps unmoved, forgetful of all that the buried years have brought forth.

And yet there was a time, we believe, when Parjapur was instinct with life, and could point proudly to temples and dwelling-places, streets and markets, tanks and reservoirs, saying : “ Lo, all these are mine : these crowded lanes wherein the merchant spreads his wares and the country people elbow one another, intent upon their bargaining ; these thoroughfares along which the royal procession sweeps forward to the palace ; these fair houses wherein the officials

of the State, the physicians and the priests abide ; those poorer homes, whence my husbandmen fare forth to the fields that skirt the boundaries ; this mighty temple, guarded by the carven bulls, wherein the great Destroyer dwells ; and that poorer shrine afar off, where, flower-crowned, the Tutelary Goddess keeps watch—all these can I call mine, I who am Pratappur, the City of the King ! ”

That a city called Partappur or Pratappur was built during the fourteenth century near the centre of Sashti (Salsette) is proved by certain old but still existing Marathi records. These also show that the city earned a name from its founder, Pratapdev or Partapdev, son of the great and almost legendary Bhimdev, whose story is told at pages 10-16 of the Census Report of 1901, part IV., for Bombay Town and Island. How Bhimdev fled from Devgiri before the advance of Ala-ud-din Khilji of Delhi, journeyed to the North Konkan with a huge retinue of followers, built the new city of Mahikavati (Mahim, in Bombay), and left upon these lands certain social and religious features, which successive ages have completely failed to eradicate—these are matters into which one need not enter anew. Let it suffice to say that in the fulness of time, A.D. 1303, Bhimdev died, beloved of his people, and that Pratapdev, his son, reigned in his stead.

The idea that the site of his ancient capital might perhaps be traced in the modern Pardapur or Parjapur first suggested itself to the compiler of the Bombay Gazetteer : but it does not appear that any steps were taken to prove or disprove the surmise. With the object, therefore, of discovering how far the idea was correct, a small party, consisting of a European and two Native officers of Government, set forth one Sunday morning last December, and, joining the Khot's agent at Marol, travelled to Parjapur. The result of that day's careful search, and of small excavations subsequently carried out under their orders, was the discovery of the relics of some four or five Hindu temples, of carved stones and broken pillars, of some five disused tanks of the kind usually seen near Hindu shrines, of three images of Hindu goddesses, and of several “gharthans” or sites of razed houses. These house-foundations, indeed, apart from the interest which their solidity rouses,* deserve more than passing

* Some of the stone blocks are 4 feet long by 1½ feet in depth, and are very well cut and dressed.

notice: for, being distributed over a fairly wide area, they show conclusively that the city of which they once formed a portion was of great size, of such compass, in short, as one would expect in the capital of a kingdom. The leisure hours of officials are necessarily limited ; and especially is this the case with men who claim as their " Mamlat " such areas as the Taluka of Sashti or Salsette. The work commenced on that Sunday has for the time being perforce fallen into abeyance. But that deserted tract calls for organised archæological research, for systematised excavation, which, we have no doubt, would end in the discovery of further objects of interest to the antiquarian,—inscriptions or images, stone grants or perhaps coins—showing that this spot is in very truth the grave of a great city of old time.

" But," someone will exclaim, " admitting, firstly, from the evidence of the relics that a city once stood upon this site, and secondly, that the modern name Pardapur or Parjapur may be Partappur or Pratappur in disguise, why should Pratapdev have built a fresh capital, when he inherited by natural right Mahikavati, the sea-girt capital of Bhimdev, with its palaces, temples, cocoanut-groves and orchards, and its varied and multitudinous population ?" The reason is to be found, we fancy, in the movements of the Musalman potentates of the interior, who began about A.D. 1300 to cast covetous eyes upon the well governed Hindu settlements along the sea-board of Western India. After the death of Bhimdev in A.D. 1303, Mahikavati and her subordinate towns in the North Konkan were several times in danger of attack by the Mahommedans, and certainly on one occasion during Pratapdev's reign, namely, in A.D. 1318, were actually invaded. It may reasonably have occurred to the king that a city less open to attack was, considering the restlessness of the Musalman, desirable both for his own personal safety and for the welfare of his subjects : and that the tract in the centre of Salsette, now known as Parjapur, was eminently fitted for that purpose by reason of its natural isolation by sea and land. Moreover, two well-known localities, with one of which Pratapdev maintained a hereditary and almost domestic connection, were situated, as indeed they still are, in the neighbourhood of this site.

- Firstly, there were the great Buddhist caves, built before A.D. 500, which are described in volume xiv. of the Bombay Gazetteer

under the name "Kondivti," but which are locally known as "Vyaravli," and have endowed with that title the whole of the upland in which they are concealed. Now the word "Vyaravli" is directly derived from "Vihara-avali," meaning a row of "Viharas" or places of rest and recreation : and it is permissible to suppose that at the hour when Pratapdev turned his thoughts towards the building of an inland city of refuge, those caves were well-known to and were visited by the inhabitants of his kingdom. Moreover, they had not at that date been subjected to desecration and partial destruction by intolerant Moslem hordes or bigoted devotees of Mary the Virgin. What more natural than that the ruler of Mahikavati should select as the site of his new capital an area adjacent to these time-honoured retreats, eminently fitted, as they were, to serve either as a place of refuge or as the scene of festival ? ११९.

Secondly, as the Survey Map of the nineteenth century shows, the village of Paspavli, also desert in these days, lies hard by the boundaries of Parjapur. The name Paspavli is declared by a Bombay scholar to be identical with the old word "Palsavli," which was the name of a village granted as a jaghir in perpetuity to his Rajguru or High Priest, Purushottam Pant Kavle, of the Bharadvaja Gotra, by Bhimdev, the father of the founder of Pratapur. Remembering this, remembering, indeed, the honour in which Purushottam Kavle and the whole brotherhood of Palshikar Brahmans were held by Bhimdev,* one should surely not be surprised at Bhimdev's heir choosing, as the site of his new city, some spot adjacent to the land which his sire had bequeathed in perpetual ownership to his priestly followers. Paspavli of to-day contains, like Parjapur, the broken foundations of several buildings, and the remains of a tank which, in all probability, belonged to a temple, long since fallen or battered into ruin.

To trace the history of Pratappur subsequent to the death of its founder in A.D. 1331 is a matter of some difficulty, as no definite reference thereto has so far been discovered. Local tradition avers that it was utterly destroyed by the Mahommedans ; and this probably occurred about the same date as the sack of Mahikavati (A.D. 1347-48) and the death of Nagardev, who had usurped the kingdom of the North Konkan from Pratapdev in A.D. 1331. It is unlikely

* Vide Bombay Census Report for 1901. Part IV., pp. 12, 13.

that the Moslem invaders of the fourteenth century forbore to attack a city, second only in importance to Mahikavati, the original capital of the fugitive Yadava of Devgiri; and the ruined condition of the Viharavali caves, the broken plinths and fallen images of Parjapur are perhaps evidence of the manner in which the Sultans of Delhi and Gujarat signalised their early conquest of Aparantaka. Notwithstanding its destruction, some shadow of former greatness, some remnant of its former population, may have clung for some years to Pratappur—for otherwise the Portuguese would scarcely have troubled to complete the work of destruction commenced by their predecessors, or have raised churches upon the ruins of shrines once dedicated to Shiva, stealing material for their building from the tanks and dwellings which Pratapdev had erected. That they actually did so can be gathered by inspection of the site to-day. For on the ruined foundations of one or two Hindu temples there are still standing the outer walls and partitions of Portuguese churches, while fragments of the broken crosses of Christianity lie side by side with the shattered idols of Hinduism.

From the date of her first foundation by Bhimdev's heir, Pratappur or Parjapur must have suffered violence from three distinct bodies of invaders—firstly, the Mahommedans, then the Portuguese, and lastly the Marathas. In consequence, there is little remaining above ground to voice her former glory—only a few scattered relics, the flotsam and jetsam cast up by the waves of Time. Nandi, weather-worn and scorched by the grass-fires of itinerant tribesmen, lies on guard before the crumbling stair; Parvati lies prostrate beneath tangled scrub and creeper; the masonry of the tanks is pierced and riven asunder by the gnarled roots of old trees; and a feeling of intense desolation seems to pervade all. And yet,—it may be that deep in her sheltering bosom Mother Earth hides treasure worth, to the historian and archæologist, a royal ransom.

“ The Palace that to Heav'n his pillars threw
And Kings the forehead on his threshold drew—
I saw the solitary Ringdove there,
And “ Coo, coo, coo ” she cried; and “ Coo, coo, coo. ”

EDUCATION IN JAPAN.

THE progress of Japan during the last thirty years has been marvellous, almost miraculous. The reformers, at the time of the Restoration, were really on the side of Imperial authority, and they followed the doctrine of the "anti-foreign" cult. But after the destruction of the powers usurped by the feudal *Shoguns*, the opinions of the leaders of the reform party and of the general public suddenly changed. Since that time, the Government and the people have striven earnestly to import Western civilisation into Japan. In 1889, a new Constitution was promulgated. In the next year, the Imperial Diet was opened. Since the war between China and Japan, the progress of the latter country has been proved abundantly to the world. In 1899, Japan entered into the body of the European International Union which had hitherto admitted to its fold only Christian nations in and out of Europe. As to the recent troubles in China, the share taken by Japan along with her allies is too fresh to need mention. Suffice it to say that Japan has progressed with wonderfully rapid strides. The motive-power of this marvellous progress, if properly searched, will be found none other than education. Japan has so far proved the truth of the maxim that knowledge is power, and we know by the experience of ages that knowledge, to be applied to the larger good, must be derived from a system of national education. We hear in India, just at present, a demand for the reorganisation of the system of public education, made on all sides. It will not, therefore, be useless or out of place, in these pages, to briefly sketch the outlines of education as it obtains in Japan at the present day, if it gives even a slight hint towards the better education of Oriental peoples.

To begin with, I shall refer in passing to the system of moral discipline as formulated by an Imperial Ordinance in October, 1890.

This Ordinance may be called the Magna Charta of moral education in Japan. Roughly translated, it reads as follows :—

“ *We* declare hereby that our ancestors made a nation of Japan in remote times, and cultivated virtue, high and deep.

“ Our subjects, since those days, have been loyal to the Crown and obedient to their parents ; and all the people have done their duty as if they were of one mind.

“ Such has been the glorious spirit of the nation, and the motive-power of our national education springs from that spirit.

“ You, our subjects, be obedient to your parents ; be friendly to your brothers and sisters ; husband and wife live harmoniously ; be trustful towards your friends ; be polite and benevolent to all. Devote yourselves to the love of learning ; cultivate your intellect and heart ; improve the public interest ; implicitly obey the Constitution and the laws ; and in times of national trouble sacrifice yourselves with courage and fidelity for the State, and guard jealously the eternal lustre of our Imperial dynasty.

“ Not only is this the innate nature of our faithful subjects, but it is also the way in which to display your hereditary virtues.

“ Such is the teaching of our Imperial ancestors, which we and you must follow.”—October, 1890.

As regards the educational administration of Japan, it may be observed that the Department of Education forms one of the ten central executive departments. It is controlled by three main bureaux and a number of educationists specially appointed for the purpose, and a Minister is appointed to preside over the whole. Under the Minister are four secretaries, seven councillors and nine school inspectors. There is also a Council of higher education, consisting of forty-eight members, and another of school sanitarium having eight members. The three bureaux controlling the educational department in Japan are :—

(a) The Bureau of Special Education, which has, among others, the right of conferring degrees and the power of sending out students to foreign countries. Universities, including higher schools, special schools, libraries and museums, astronomical and meteorological observatories, geological and earthquake investigation branches, the Tokio Academy, and the Science Association, are controlled by this bureau.

(b) The Bureau of General Education, which has authority over normal schools, middle schools, common schools and Kindergarten, higher female schools, schools for blind and dumb, educational museums, common educational associations, and has control of the education of children of school-going age.

(c) The Bureau of Technical Education, which controls technical schools, agricultural schools, commercial schools, mercantile shipping schools, technical apprentice and preparatory schools, and training schools for technical teachers.

As regards local educational affairs, it may be observed that the Department of Education is controlled by the Chief Prefect on a small scale.* There are many other schools in Japan, controlled by the different executive departments of the State. For instance, the Nobles' Schools are directly under the Imperial Household Department. Schools for police and jail officers are in charge of the Home Department. Merchant shipping schools, and post and telegraph schools are under the control of the Communication Department, and all military and naval schools and colleges under Military and Naval Departments. In the following pages, however, I shall confine myself only to those schools and colleges which are directly under the supervision of the Educational Department.

Schools may be classified in various ways, but if I classify them from the fiscal point of view, they may be arranged under the three following heads :—

(1) Public Institutions. These are :—

(a) Government institutions, *e.g.*, Universities.

(b) Schools controlled by the Educational Department, *e.g.*, higher normal schools, higher schools, higher commercial schools, higher medical schools, the Tokio Technical School, schools of foreign language, fine arts, music, and those for the blind and the dumb.

(c) Schools under the local charge. These may be classified

(i) Prefectory institutions, *e.g.*, middle and normal schools ; and (ii) Town and village institutions, *e.g.*, primary schools.

(2) Quasi-public Institutions. These consist of all those schools which, though established by private persons, are controlled by public officers.

* The Empire of Japan is divided into three principal cities, and forty-four prefectures.

(3) Private Institutions. These are the various types of schools, ranging from primary schools to universities, which are established as well as controlled by private individuals.

To give an idea of the expenditure incurred by the State on education in Japan, I have picked out the following figures from the Budget for 1901, and arranged them, under different heads, as follows :—

<i>Names and kinds of Schools.</i>	<i>Total Expenditure.</i>	<i>Grants-in-aid.</i>
	Yens.	Yens.
The Tokio University . . .	1,037,417	802,552
The Kioto University . . .	441,909	385,938
Higher Normal Schools . . .	181,288	165,847
Higher Schools . . .	465,041	313,412
The Tokio Technical School . . .	137,560	112,408
General Education . . .	Uncertain	1,500,000
Technical Education . . .	Uncertain	270,000

I shall now attempt to give a rough idea of the course of education obtaining in Japan, beginning from the earliest stage of school-life. There are, first of all, several Kindergarten schools in Japan ; but it must be noted that only well-to-do children are trained there. Then come the common primary schools, with a course of elementary instruction extending over four years ; these are followed by what are called the higher primary schools, preparatory to middle schools (with a course of two years), and higher primary schools proper (with four years' course). It may be observed that, up to this stage, the primary school education is compulsory, and the school-going age varies from six to fourteen years. If the parents of a student, who has attained the school-going age, are too poor to afford him even this short course of primary instruction, there are associations in Japan, who pay for the education of such students. Immediately after this compulsory course follow the middle schools (five years' course), higher schools for women (four years' course), and normal schools (four years' course for male and three years' for female students). Boys and girls receive their education together up to a certain age, after which they are taught separately. In the higher stage may be included the higher schools preparatory for the University (3 years' course), higher schools proper (4 years' course), higher normal schools (with a course of 4 years for male and 3 years for female students), and the college for women. A

further course of three or four years at the University Colleges entitles the successful candidate to the degree of graduate, or, as it is called in Japan, the *Gakushi*, either in Law, Literature or the Sciences. In the final course, extending over five years, at the University Hall, a *gakushi* may obtain the degree of *hakushi*, corresponding to the M.A. degree of the Bombay University, provided he writes a thesis on a prescribed subject, which is approved by the University authorities.

The following statistics of education in Japan in the year 1897 may be of interest. It may be noted here that the total population of Japan in that year was 43,228,863 souls, out of which 21,823,651 were males and 21,405,212 were females. The statistics may be quoted as under :—

Schools.	Number of Schools.	Number of Teachers.	Number of Students.	Number of Successful Candidates.
Primary Schools ...	26,860	79,299	3,994,826	549,703
Middle Schools	159	2,308	53,691	2,501
Higher Schools	6	343	4,436	971
Universities	2	198	2,255	386
Military and Naval Universities	2	44	129	30
Normal Schools	47	720	8,830	1,740
Higher Normal Schools	2	103	644	70
Special and Techni- cal Schools	272	2,589	36,614	10,632
Higher Female Schools	26	310	6,799	631
Sundries	1,100	3,020	68,353	9,898
Total...	29,476	88,934	4,176,577	576,562

The average number of school-going children, in 1899, in Japan, is worked out as follows :—

Males . . 82.42 } 68.91
Females . . 53.53 }

and of those not going to school at the present day :—

Males . . 19.33 } 33.35
Females . . 49.14 }

Every year, from ten to fifteen students are sent abroad by Government for a period of two or three years, for purposes of study. They are under an obligation, after returning home, to serve the State for double the period of their study abroad, in any post to which they may be appointed by Government. In 1901, there were 114 male and 2 female students sent abroad for study by the Educational Department. The foreign countries to which they are generally sent out are England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Holland, Belgium, America and Corea. Besides these students, however, others are sent abroad under the Department for Foreign Affairs and the Naval Department.

Now let us have a cursory glance at the course of education and subjects taught at the different schools in Japan. The compulsory subjects at the primary school (4 years' course) are :—Lectures on morality,* reading, composition, Japanese and Chinese penmanship, arithmetic and athletics. The voluntary subjects consist of Japanese geography and history, drawing, singing and sewing (for women only). At the higher school, the course of which extends over two, three, or four years, the compulsory subjects taught are lectures on morality, reading, composition, Japanese and Chinese penmanship, arithmetic, Japanese geography and history, geography of the world, physics, drawing, athletics, singing, and sewing (for women) ; the voluntary subjects are geometry, foreign language, and some agricultural or commercial subject. At the middle school (5 years' course of training), these are the subjects : Lectures on morality, Japanese and Chinese language, foreign language, agriculture, geography, history, mathematics (including arithmetic, algebra, geometry and trigonometry), natural history (zoology and botany), physics, chemistry, Japanese and Chinese penmanship, drawing, singing, book-keeping and athletics. The higher school, preparatory to the Law and Literature College of the University, gives, like other schools, lectures on morality, and teaches Japanese and Chinese classics, a foreign language, history, geography, mathematics, physics, botany, zoology, logic, economics, jurisprudence and athletics. The curriculum of the higher school, preparatory to the Technical and Science College of the University, contains the following list of subjects :—Lectures on morality, Japanese and Chinese classics, foreign language, mathematics, physics

* Education in Japan is quite independent of religion.

chemistry, zoology, botany, geology, mineralogy, drawing, surveying and athletics. The higher school, preparatory to the Medical College of the University, gives lectures on morality, Japanese and Chinese classics, foreign language (German), mathematics, physics, chemistry, zoology, botany, Latin and athletics.

A short account of the constitution of the Tokio Imperial University may not be out of place here. This University consists of six colleges, all in one big compound, except the Agricultural College. There is one president for the whole University, and one director presides over each College. The constitution and the curriculum of studies at these six colleges may be briefly described as follows :—

(1) *The College of Law* (4 years' course).

In 1900, there were 14 professors, 10 assistant professors and 4 foreign lecturers at this College. The subjects taught here are Staatsrecht (Constitution), civil code, commercial law, civil procedure, criminal law and procedure, political economy and finance, statistics, politics, political history, administrative law, international public law and international private law, history of legal institutions and comparative history of legal institutions, Roman law, English law, French law, German law and Jurisprudence.

(2) *The College of Medicine* (4 years' course).

In 1900, there were 21 professors, 16 assistant professors, and 2 German professors. The subjects usually taught are anatomy, physiology, pharmacy, pathology and pathological anatomy, pharmacology, medicine, gynæcology, obstetrics, paediatrics, surgery, ophthalmology, dermatology, hygiene, forensic medicine, otology, rhinology and laryngology.

(3) *The College of Engineering* (3 years' course).

In 1900, there were 19 professors, 20 assistant professors and 2 foreign professors. The subjects taught are civil engineering, mechanical engineering, naval architecture, marine engineering, technology of arms, electric engineering, architecture, applied chemistry, technology of explosions, mining and metallurgy, strength of material and structure, industrial economy, administrative law affecting engineering works, chemistry and athletics.

(4) *The College of Literature* (3 years' course).

In 1900, there were 12 professors, 8 assistant professors, and 5 foreign professors. The subjects taught are Japanese literature and

history, Chinese classics, history, geography, philosophy and history of philosophy, psychology, ethics, logics, sociology, athletics, comparative philology, English language and literature, German language and literature, and French language and literature.

(5) *The College of Science* (3 years' course).

In 1900, there were 8 professors, 9 assistant professors and one foreign professor. The subjects taught are mathematics, applied mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, zoology, botany, geology, paleontology, mineralogy, seismology and anthropology.

(6) *The College of Agriculture* (3 years' course).

In 1900, there were 14 professors, 17 assistant professors, and one foreign professor. The subjects taught are agriculture, agricultural chemistry, chemistry, forestry, botany, zoology, entomology, sericulture, horticulture, geology and soils, physics and meteorology, agricultural politics, political economy, zootechny, physiology, veterinary medicine and surgery.

M. TOKIYEDA.

PROSPECTS OF EDUCATION IN JAPAN

INDIAN students are being sent to Japan, both by public bodies as well as by their parents and guardians, for technical education, on the ground that the expense of living and education in that country is less than what it is in Europe, and the facilities much greater. On the other hand, those who have gone to Japan have lately complained of the difficulties they have had to contend with there, and are dissuading their countrymen from following them.

I have lately had the pleasure of the company of Mr. O. Kakura Kakuzo, a member of the Archæological Commission of the Japanese Government and formerly Principal of the Tokio Fine Art Academy. This gentleman is an old educationist of Japan. He has now established an Art Academy of his own, consisting of some 500 members spread over that country. He is a Gakshi, corresponding with a Master of Arts in literature, of both China and Japan, and is well versed in all educational matters pertaining to that rising nation. The opinions of such an expert cannot but prove valuable to all who intend to go or send students to Japan for technical education ; and I have Mr. O. Kakura's permission to publish the following notes of a most interesting conversation I have had with him on the subject. What struck me most in Mr. O. Kakura is the sympathy which he shows towards all that concerns the material and moral progress of this country, the love he bears towards it as the land which gave Japan its present religion and philosophy, and his readiness to do all that lies in his power to help Indians in that country. He tells me that though their Colleges and Universities as well as High Schools are all full, they are ready to do all they can for Indian students. In fact some of the professors give their lectures in English to suit the convenience of Indians, while in his own Academy one of the professors teaches drawing to a Panjabi student, free of charge. He also tells me that those of the Indians who have graduated out of the Technical Colleges of Japan have been treated exactly like their own graduates.

For instance, Mr. Saligram, a native of India, was offered a post in one of the ore-refining factories at Osaka, which he declined, and another Indian graduate, Mr. Roy, from Bengal, was also offered a post in a copper mine in the Keshiu district, but he too declined. The Japanese do not court Indian students, but if they come they give them every possible assistance and treat them just like their own people. This is very good of them, and if our students find any difficulty in the matter of technical education in Japan, the Japanese ought not to be blamed for it. They must, as Mr. O'Kakura says, remember that the whole of the system of education in Japan, whether technical or general, is based on the needs of Japan and not those of India. The conditions of life in Japan are not what they are in Europe, and in copying the West in her industrial enterprise, Japan has not acted blindly but has adapted western institutions to her own needs, and solved the problem of capital and labour in the manner best suited to her own requirements. She does not, for instance, teach in her technical schools the handling of those large machines which are used in the factories of Europe, nor make her students learn things which are not suited to her own requirements. The conditions of India are somewhat similar, and like Japan, this country has to adapt western methods of production to eastern requirements and eastern capital, though on a much smaller scale than even Japan. It is, therefore, somewhat unreasonable for Indians to expect Japan to tell them what they require in India or do away with giving instruction in Japanese to suit their needs or do for them more than what she is at present doing. If they wish to profit by the sympathy shown to them by Japan, they must adapt themselves to the circumstances under which she gives education to her own students, and they will soon find that they are able to learn much from this plucky people which they could most usefully introduce into their own country. One thing looks certain—that they will have greater facilities in learning arts and industries there, than in any countries of the West.

The progress of Japan during the last few years has been most remarkable, and it now claims to rank as one of the first Powers of the civilised world. One reason for this phenomenal progress, according to Mr. Kakura, is the cheapness of its administration. According to him, its Chief Minister does not get more than 10,000 yen, and the other Ministers no more than 8,000 a year. Even the Chief Justice gets 8,000 yen. A yen is about Rs. 1-12. According to him, again, Japan can only hold her own with Western nations by paying her Services on this scale,

and he thinks that we in India pay our Services too dearly. How far he is correct in taking this view, I cannot say. But if, as he says, the cost of living in Japan is increasing, they will have to revise their rates for payment of the lower grades at least. This is merely a digression.

Japan has two Universities, one at Tokio and the other at Kioto. Both teach as well as examine. The former has about 300 and the latter about 180 professors. The faculties are composed of literature, law, medicine, engineering, and science. The professors are mostly Japanese who have taken high honours in their respective subjects in Germany, France, Austria or America. Some of the professors are also Europeans and Americans. But in all cases only young men of great promise are employed. The salaries of these professors range from 6,000 to 2,000 yen a year. The instruction is mostly given in the Japanese language, though European professors give it in their own tongues. Students have to learn either French or German. When they pass they get employment under Government or in private mercantile or manufacturing offices. They start from 1,000 yen a year. The demand is greater than the supply, and a graduate in Japan is seldom unemployed. There is only one degree, called the Gakshi. A doctor's degree, called *Hakushi*, is always given on presentation of a paper of original research on a scientific or literary subject. The Tokio University contains about 800 and the Kioto about 400 students. All these live in the town and only go to the university to hear the lectures.

The fee charged is about 6 yen or Rs. 10 a month. Board and lodging cost about Rs. 25 or Rs. 30, books about Rs. 10, and clothes another Rs. 10 a month, unless the student is inclined to be fashionable. For an Indian student the expense will be a little higher, as he may have to employ a servant for cooking his food and attending to his general wants. This will cost him Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 a month. Under the universities are five high schools situated in five principal places—Tokio, Kioto, Kumamoto, Sendai, and Kanazawa. These schools prepare for the Universities as well as for the public services. Each of them contains about 1,000 students. The fee is 4 yen, and the course is for three years, and boys are admitted at the age of 18. When they come out of the school they get service on about 50 yen a month. In addition to these they have technical and commercial schools all over the country. There are two high and commercial schools in Tokio, besides local schools at each chief centre for its own industry. In Tokio, I am told, instruction is given in every art and industry, and the system is not only good but will compare favourably

with Europe. It has been highly praised by those of the Europeans who have visited these institutions, and it will compare favourably even with South Kensington in many respects. In Mr. O. Kakura's own Academy the subjects taught are painting, sculpture, lacquering and bronze work, and he tells me with an air of justifiable pride that his work will compare favorably with any in the world.

From what I have said above, it may be gathered that the Japanese are alive to their own needs, and have proved fairly successful in adapting western sciences and western institutions to eastern requirements. Their system is entirely based on their own needs. The education is good, in fact thorough, so far as their needs are concerned. If, therefore, we wish to profit by it, as we ought, we must take it as it is, and try to adapt it to our own needs.

BAIJ NATH.

UNIVERSITY REFORM

PRINCIPLES AND RULES

ABOUT fifty years ago we made some rather cheap models of the University of London—which was as much a University as a milkman's quartpot is a dairy farm—and set them up as the highest form of Western education in India. In course of time we connected with them a number of teaching institutions, whose methods were controlled by their examination standards: and we placed those standards in the care of bodies of men appointed for all manner of reasons—the least and least frequent of which was that they knew something about education. Also we made their certificates the passport to Government employment and various other paying positions—rich marriages among them.

Then we talked about the elevating effects of Western culture.

Meanwhile the gentlemen in charge of the standards saw their duty, and did it. Employment, thought they, is the right of the deserving poor: who are we that we should deny them their right? So they lowered as much as they could the cost of teaching, and as far as they dared the qualification for degrees: they insisted that the examination should be confined to certain textbooks, so that the mere effort of learning these by heart should bring candidates through the test with flying colours: they invented an ironbound mark system with low minimums, and grace marks, and other devices for getting within the charmed circle of graduates people who had no business within a mile of it.

Then they, too, talked about the elevating effect of Western culture, and claimed that their young protégés, having attained the higher level, should share also the privileges and emoluments suitable to that position. For they saw that the "education" we gave them had its culminating point in a Government billet: and it was not unnatural to believe that the education we went through ourselves had a similar end in view. But they knew also—for they were clever enough—that what we gave to their boys at our schools and colleges was not education at all: it was as mechanical a process as loading a wheat-ship, and nearly as suffocating. However, we seemed to insist on the process, and for the sake of the reward they endured it: but they thought us great fools, and probably think so still. It is our fault,

and our own fault, and our very great fault : and how we are to remedy it nobody quite knows.

Not all the Universities of India, of course, are equally blame-worthy. Partly by good luck, and partly by the domination of individual masterful experts, there are some Universities in far better condition than one might reasonably have expected. So, because all are somewhat tainted, yet in very different degrees, it would seem best not to patch up any one by the pattern of any other, but to make out some single pattern to which all may sooner or later conform. This paper is a suggestion of some such pattern, by principles and rules thence derived sketching the essential qualities of the ideal University. That all the principles laid down will find favour, I do not dare to hope : but I believe that this way, and not through the mere patchy remedying of scandals, the path of educational reform lies open.

For the sake of clearness the practical rules are spaced more widely than the other paragraphs.

1. All good schools are technical schools. A technical school is one which trains its students to use tools in the exercise of their profession.

A technical school may, if necessary, supply its students with material to work on : but it does this to meet their immediate needs only, and to facilitate training—not as an important part of its business.

2. A University is the supreme technical school. It trains its students to use their intellects in the exercise of their manhood. It supplies knowledge to facilitate this training, not as an end in itself.

3. Therefore :—

- (a) The subjects taught are of much less importance than the methods used :
- (b) The aim of the teacher is, not that a student should know much, but that he should want to know more :
- (c) The aim of the examiner is to test, not so much the student's knowledge of facts, as his powers of using them.

4. Consequently—

- (a) The curriculum should be of few subjects, well studied :
- (b) The teaching should be given by a lecturer to listeners, not by a note-dictator to copyists :
- (c) The examination should be on a syllabus, not on set text books. (See note *a*.)

5. Intellects, unlike most tools, are not all made to one pattern. Each student must learn how to use his own in the way most suitable to it, and the teacher must therefore modify general rules to suit each particular case. Influence, rather than instruction, is a University's peculiar weapon.

6. Consequently—

- (a) Classes must be small (20 to 30 is the ideal number, 50 the maximum);
- (b) Professors must meet their pupils individually (by means of requiring them to bring set essays and exercises for individual criticism, &c.);
- (c) Students must, as far as possible, live in hostels that are under the direction, either of members of the teaching staff, or of men in close contact and sympathy with the staff.

7. A University controls its students in three matters—their admission, their training, and their testing. Ideally, the same men should arrange all three; and these men should be chosen particularly as trainers, because training rather than the other two is the University's *raison-d'être*.

8. It is important for each man that he should be able to use his own intellect. But for the State it is most important that the best intellects should be best used.

A State-controlled University, therefore, must aim at the thorough training of comparatively few students, and the selection of these few becomes almost as important a work as their subsequent training.

9. • Therefore, in the Entrance Examination,

- (a) The set papers must test for intellect rather than memory (from which it follows that text-books must not be prescribed);
- (b) These papers must especially test the candidate's power of understanding from the first such instruction as he will receive in University classes;
- (c) Consequently, the papers should be set by the men who are going to give that instruction (which points towards separate Entrance examinations for each College).

10. In India, the cardinal difficulty of education is that its medium must for the most part be English, a language naturally foreign to most Indian students. This difficulty can be minimised:

- (a) By using the vernaculars for all primary education—the elements of language- and science-training are as effective in a vernacular as in English, and more intelligible to the young pupil and his teacher alike;
- (b) By teaching English itself as a colloquial—not, in the earlier stages, as a grammatical or literary—language. (See note b.)

- (c) By strictly debarring from University privileges all students to whom English has not become an easy medium for the expression of their own ideas. (See note c.)

11. So one arrives at these rules—

- (a) Primary education must be conducted in the vernacular ;
- (b) English must be taught by specially trained masters, mainly through the medium of conversation ; the vocabulary must contain words and phrases connected with the pupils' ordinary life and talk and thought ; and the grammar must be of the simplest, deduced from comparison of phrases already known, not learnt as a scheme outside the pupil's experience ;
- (c) The English papers of the Entrance Examination must test colloquial and practical knowledge of the language, mainly by means of original composition papers ; part of the Examination should be oral ; and the standard must be far higher than in any other subject.

12. It has already been said that personal influence is a University's especial weapon. The personality of both teacher and student is the prime factor in University training, and especially the personal attitude of each towards his work. Single-mindedness in this matter is of great importance, and influences which distract the worker must be destroyed or counteracted.

13. Therefore *Professors*—

- (a) Must not be required, as they often are now, to teach at random subjects in which they are not specialists ;
- (b) Must understand that it is part of their duty to take active interest in their students outside the class room, and that failure in this respect will disqualify them for their position ;
- (c) Should, where possible, live near each other, the hostels, and their work ;
- (d) Should have been teachers in England before their appointment to India, so that they have not to learn the rudiments of their art after arrival.

14. Consequently also *Examiners*—

- (a) Must consider in setting papers and fixing standards solely the aims of University teaching, as already set forth ; and must not be distracted by having to consider also the

qualifications for admission to some Government department, or to some business appointment.

15. It is fitting, on the other hand, that the formal approbation of a good University should carry great weight in the allotment of State or business appointments. But this is for the official or the business man to think of, not for the University. And to make such formal approval an indispensable qualification for these appointments is to crowd University classes with mere would-be examinees, who assuredly hamper and probably demoralise the genuine students in their work.

16. Consequently—

- (a) Other examinations, outside the University's own but controlled by University examiners, should be provided as soon as possible (where they do not already exist), the passing of which should be accepted by the Government of India and all bodies under its control as qualifications for the public service in lieu of the present Entrance, F. A. or B. A. passes.

17. It seems to be now axiomatic in India that education should proceed on European lines. It may be also taken as axiomatic that such education, devised to meet the special needs of western Europe, is not ideally suited to develop the minds of students in India, the product of very different conditions and influences. And it is at least probable that only exceptional men among the natives of India can thoroughly appreciate and sympathize with European objects and methods. In the hands of men not exceptional those objects and methods are likely to suffer.

18. Therefore, the control of Indian Universities must be kept (replaced, where necessary) for a long time yet in European hands, natives of India being represented on the controlling boards in numbers sufficient to ensure the fair presentation of their views.

19. Moreover, as teaching, and not examining, is the chief end of the Universities, those who teach should have practical control of all educational arrangements; but for carrying on relations with outside authority and the world at large representatives of wider outlook and less specialised interests are required.

20. The controlling bodies in a University, therefore, should be:—

- (a) The Syndicate, the final authority; entirely managing the University's finances, and representing it in its outside relations; nominally supervising the educational work, but rarely interfering with it unless questions of finance become important; on which the teaching staff shall be represented, while the majority of its members are not

actual teachers, but well educated and interested in education ;

- (b) The Professorial Board—consisting mainly or entirely of representative teachers—to deal directly with the curriculum, examinations, standards, appointments, and all educational matters ; whose decision in all these matters (except permanent appointments to the staff) shall be as a matter of course confirmed by the Syndicate, unless the University's finances would be seriously compromised by so doing, or some other reason of an equally grave nature exists for non-confirmation.

On both these bodies there should be a permanent working majority of Europeans.

Native representation may be arranged for through the Senate (Convocation ?)—all graduates of some standing—who might elect members to both Syndicate and Professorial Board, so long as on neither body more than one-third of the members were thus elected.

21. In India the Universities should be directly useful to the Central Government as an aid to establishing better conditions of life and a more clear-sighted public opinion throughout the country.

22. Therefore, the Central Government should establish a Department of Education with supervisory control over the Universities, limited as will appear in the next paragraph.

23. The duties of this Department should be:—

- (a) To enforce as soon as possible in all the Universities, by drastic measures if need be, rules such as are contained in paragraphs 6, 9, and 13, and rule (c) in paragraph 11 ;
- (b) To urge constantly the adoption of other rules similar to those here set down ;
- (c) To veto changes in the constitution or regulations of any University which are inconsistent with the principles stated above ;
- (d) To be a permanent medium of communication both between separate Indian Universities and between any Indian University and other outside educational bodies ;
- (e) To make and keep a list of capable examiners available for work in India ;
- (f) To organize a system of public service examinations for all India on the lines suggested in paragraph 16 ;
- (g) To establish an intelligence bureau for India in matters concerning education.

NOTES.

(a) Text-books are defended against the syllabus-system as defining more clearly for the different colleges the limits of instruction within which examinees will be questioned. But by setting a long paper (say of 14 questions) to cover the whole syllabus, and requiring only a few (say 6 questions) to be answered, all examinees will have equally fair chances of success and teachers will be left more free to work along their own lines.

It cannot be too often repeated that an educated man is not a man who knows everything, but rather a man who, knowing more than one thing, can use everything he knows. His good digestion marks him, not his full larder.

(b) In the teaching of English we seem here to have followed almost entirely the methods of English-speaking communities. A better model would surely be found in the methods used by foreign educationists—in France, for instance, where the teaching of English to French boys is being more and more given over to Frenchmen, and the curriculum devised accordingly.

(c) There seems to be an idea abroad that everyone who feels inclined for Government or professional employment has a right to demand on easy terms the university education which will, possibly, fit him for such employment. Now it may be argued with show of reason that every person under the State's care (as are all citizens and citizen's children) has a right to such training on easy terms, as will qualify him to discharge the duties of his position; and so agricultural and technical schools of the simpler kind may be thought an urgent necessity. But public employment is no man's right; it is his duty as far as the State requires him and his privilege as far as he is capable. If he desires it, he must prove his capability to the uttermost. It is the State's duty to employ, and to train for employment, its most capable members, not its most needy members. To select any but the most capable for training is a dereliction of that duty.

(d) To dogmatize unridiculed is the privilege of age and authority. But even for the young and the inexperienced a dogmatic form of statement has advantages, which make one willingly risk being laughed at. It clarifies and crystallises the thought which might otherwise remain viscous in one's mind: and it definitely challenges definite correction. If, therefore, I seem to have dogmatized above in the true globe-trotter fashion, it is not by way of claiming that anything there said is original or authoritative, but simply because my impressions of Indian education, so stated, will be more easily understood and corrected by the men who really know the truth.

ADMINISTRATION OF FAMINE RELIEF IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, 1899-1900.

II.

WITH the reaping of what little of the kharif had withstood the terrible drought, the distress deepened, and at the end of November, the numbers relieved exceeded the maximum reached in 1896-97. The cause of this lay in the severe character of the distress and the utterly resourceless condition of the people. It was also owing, to some extent, to the confidence, inspired by the experience of the previous famine, which the people had learnt to repose in the Government and its power and readiness to save them: so that as soon as they felt that their crops were gone beyond all hope, they instinctively, as it were, turned to the Government for protection. The population affected was 60 per cent. more than in 1896. The crop-failure was also more complete and widespread. In 1896, Nagpur and Wardha had escaped failure, but in 1899, they suffered severely. Chanda, Balaghat and Bhandora lost their rice completely, and so did Raipur and Bilaspur. Sambalpur, which had a fine rice-crop in 1896, could only gather less than 20 per cent. of the normal in the western parts. This was not all. Owing to want of moisture in the soil, rabi-sowing, except in some favoured lands, was impossible, and thus was closed the most important opening for employment at this time of the year. It was not so in 1896. The total rainfall in that year was not much below the average, and it was its uneven distribution rather than its deficiency in the aggregate that had caused the famine. Thus in 1896, the ground was not wholly unfit, as in 1899, for rabi-sowing. Pressed down by these adverse circumstances acting in combination, the people had no option but to seek State relief to save themselves from starvation.

By the end of December, the total number reached a little over 11½ lakhs, or 10·8 per cent. of the population.

The rapid rise in the numbers on relief led the Government to consider whether the conditions of relief were not too attractive. After careful consideration, the digger's wage was reduced from 20 to 19 chattacks, or by one pice calculated on the prices then ruling. The extra given to males was fixed at one pice over a digger's wage instead of two as before. Other economies were also ordered. The Commissioners were authorised to abolish the rest-day wage, where the people were found to save out of the week's earnings. The task was also stiffened. These orders were issued on the 3rd of February, 1900, and they came into force at once. But there was no substantial decrease in the volume of relief. The total number of P. W. D. workers on the 3rd of February was 6,80,000. On the 3rd of March, after the economies of scale and procedure, referred to above, had been in force for about a fortnight, the number fell by about 20,000 only. On the 31st of March, it was less by a lakh; but this was because it was the time for rabi-harvesting. Bad as was the rabi, its harvesting relieved the tension while it lasted. But as soon as the rabi was off the ground, the number began to rise again, until it reached 6,83,000 on the 26th of May, thus showing once more that it was the magnitude of the calamity and not too liberal a system of relief that drove so many of the people to seek protection at the hands of Government.

The hot weather was a most anxious period. The severe strain of labour at the works under a burning sun began to tell on the health of the people. Cholera and bowel complaints and fever, induced and aggravated by the scanty water-supply, began their ravages, and claimed many victims and enfeebled those who recovered. The mahua crop is a valuable addition to the food supply at this season, but the crop of 1900 proved a very poor one. Thousands, who had waited its result before coming on relief, had now to go to the works. Thus on the 26th of May, the total reached 19,60,000.

The programme of relief for the rains was carefully prepared in advance. The interests of agriculture require that the people should at this juncture go back to their villages to be ready for the field work. Causes which naturally make for the curtailment of works during the rains are generally sufficient to bring about this desired result. But

it is said that stringent measures ought to be adopted to push the people off the works and make them return to their homes. For one class, at least, no such pressure is needed. The agriculturists on relief are not likely to be tempted to linger on the works for the sake of the bare subsistence wage to be earned there to the neglect of their permanent interest in their cultivation. As regards the labourers, if it were a fact that the ordinary occupations in a village, suspended during an acute famine, re-open automatically on the first fall of the monsoon rains, there would be no risk run in cutting down relief all round during the rains. But though a demand for labour comes into existence at this time, it cannot, where the previous crop-failure has been severe, attain the normal standard. For during the struggle for existence in a bad agricultural year, the resources of the people are generally at their lowest ebb at its end. The result is that the poorer cultivators try to do without any hired labour, and even the richer classes are forced to economise by reducing their field establishments. In view, then, of the specially resourceless condition of the labourers and of the majority of the employers of labour themselves, and the fact that it is as difficult to keep P. W. D. works as village-works, likely to give employment to a large number of people, open during the rains, the following programme was laid down for the monsoon months :—

(1) A limited number of P. W. D. works to be kept open for those who did not return to their homes.

(2) The Government not to *supply* employment to the village population, but to *supplement* such deficiency as might occur in their wages owing to the high prices by supporting their dependents.

(3) In the most distressed districts, a limited number of agricultural labourers to be given doles for a month at a time, when employment would be slack. In return the village-headman to exact work from them, such work to consist of village improvements and weeding, etc., of fields of needy ryots unable to employ labour.

(4) Gratuitous relief to the deserving to be extended.

By the middle of June, affairs were in train to give effect to the above programme ; but a quite unexpected delay in the appearance of the monsoon upset all calculations. Heat became great, sowings were put back, early sowings began to wither, deficiency of water

and fodder added to the anxiety, the demand for agricultural labour greatly diminished, and the people, already sorely-tried, began to lose heart. To quote the provincial report, "It is not easy to adequately describe the alarm felt when day after day went by and the monsoon seemed once again to be failing." To save the people at this crisis, the Administration had largely to extend gratuitous relief. It is difficult to see what else could have been done, unless it be to let things take their own course, which meant decimation by death from privation. Of the 20 lakhs on relief on the 30th of June, 72·6 per cent. were on the free list. On the 28th of July, the number swelled to nearly 23 lakhs, out of whom 82·7 per cent. were on gratuitous relief. The maximum was reached on the 4th of August, when the total number was about 23 lakhs and a quarter, of whom 86 per cent. were on gratuitous relief. The percentage, on relief, of the total population was 21·5. About this time the monsoon began to steady itself, hope gave place to despair, the people began to help themselves and the numbers on relief gradually decreased. By the end of September, it had gone down to 7 lakhs, by the end of October to about 3 and a half lakhs, by the end of November to 45,000, and by the end of the year to 3,400. With this, the famine operations may be said to have come to a close.

Relief of distress among the aboriginal tribes was one of the greatest difficulties of the famine of 1896. The ordinary methods failed to reach them and the result was a complete break-down of relief in their case. But the experience then gained was this time fully utilised, with the result that the administration of relief to these people was one of the greatest triumphs of the famine campaign. The scarcity of fodder afforded a large opening for employment for these people. They were kept engaged in cutting grass in Government forests for fodder, which was then sent to localities where it was wanted by the cattle. Thus two useful purposes were served.

In the chief towns of Nagpur, there is a population of about 60,000 weavers, who are noted throughout the Maratha country for the fine cloths they make. Relief in their own craft was given to them on a small scale in 1896, but this time the operations assumed considerable dimensions. The maximum number of weavers relieved in their own trade in the province was 28,300. The relief was strictly confined to those who were unfitted by the practice of their pro-

fession and their hereditary habits for hard out-door labour, and who would have been incapable of earning a living wage on the ordinary works. The system followed was what may be called the "piece-work" or "payment by result" system, as distinguished from the "task-work" system followed in Madras in 1896. The crisis in the Nagpur hand-made cloth trade in 1899-1900 was very acute, and the policy adopted by the Administration had the effect of preserving a most important indigenous industry from serious deterioration. The final figures are not yet available, but my information is that though the initial cost of this relief was comparatively heavy, the ultimate financial results, after setting off the price realised by sale of the cloth manufactured, show that this special relief has proved the least expensive.

Village-works occupied a prominent place in the scheme of relief; and it is stated in the provincial report, a statement in which non-official opinion fully concurs, that "the village-work system has been one of the most useful, efficacious and economical relief methods of the famine."

In support of the opinion that, in the main, the relief distributed in the Central Provinces was excessive, the Commission of 1901 has referred to the high percentage on relief in Betul and Raipur. In the latter district, it is pointed out, the percentage towards the end of July was 44·61, though in the adjacent district of Belaspur it was only 17·3. In Betul it reached 40. As already stated, Betul is one of the poorest districts. The aboriginal tribes, who predominate there, live, even in the best of seasons, a hand-to-mouth life. The district had suffered severely in 1896 and had not recovered from the blow, when the second famine overwhelmed it. If I mistake not, relief to some extent had never ceased to be given here since 1896. In 1899, of the total area under crop, which was less by a little more than one lakh of acres than the area in the year preceding, 80 per cent. was under kharif and the two main kharif crops (rice and juâr) gave a return of only 7·5 per cent. of a normal outturn. With such a people and with such a crop-return, a high percentage was inevitable, if relief was to equal "the necessities of the people." In Raipur, according to the census of 1891, 73 per cent. of the population are wholly dependent on agriculture. To this ought to be added the 5 per cent. shown as general agricultural labourers. There are a few

local industries, such as coarse cloth and blanket (*kumbul*) weaving and basket and bangle-making. But they cannot flourish unless agriculture flourishes. So that the whole population, except a microscopic minority, may be said to depend for their living on the year's harvest. Now, according to the carefully prepared calculations given in the provincial report, the quantity of food-grain required to feed the population of the district is 2,20,460 tons, of which the production in 1899-1900 was 87,593 tons, leaving a deficit of 1,32,967 tons. At the average price during the famine period of 10 seers a rupee, the value of this deficit works out to one crore and 48 lakhs of rupees. The total sum actually distributed in wages and gratuitous relief (*i.e.*, excluding cost of establishment and other incidental charges), is one crore and ten lakhs of rupees.* Adding to this, 8 lakhs given as *Takavi* and 4 lakhs given from the Charity Fund, there would still be left about 26 lakhs to buy the quantity of food needed to keep the people alive, and this sum was presumably met by them from their own resources. These figures do not show either that the contribution by the people towards their own support was inadequate, or that the help given by the State was in excess of the requirements of the case. As regards Bilaspur, the deficiency in the rainfall, as compared with the previous 33 years' average, was 10·75, whereas in Raipur it was 23·95, or more than double. The result was that the crop-return in the former district was half as much again better than in the latter. This may explain to some extent the smaller percentage in Bilaspur.

It has been laid down by a very high authority that "death-rate is the best test of the sufficiency or insufficiency of the relief organisation." Judged by this test, it does not appear that the relief given in the Central Provinces was, taking the famine period as a whole, beyond the necessities of the people. In the following statement is compared the mean mortality per mille per annum of ten years ending 1896, with the mortality per mille per annum in 1900, in the

* This figure is thus arrived at :—

Sum spent by the Civil Department in wages and gratuitous relief as separately given is Rs. 74,36,445. The sum spent by the P. W. D. under the same heads is not separately shown for each district. But the proportion of expenditure on wages and gratuitous relief through the P. W. D. for the whole province to its total expenditure is 70 per cent. At this rate the expenditure in Raipur on wages and gratuitous relief works out to about 35 lakhs of rupees. Thus the total under these heads comes to 75 + 35 lakhs, or one crore and 10 lakhs.

districts where more than 20 per cent. of the population were at one time or other on relief :—

District.	Average of ten years ending 1896.					In 1900.
Hoshangabad	36'76	...	...	54'72
Nimar	38'03	...	...	105
Betul	35'17	...	...	81'42
Wardha	37'48	...	...	85'05
Chanda	32'90	...	...	91'87
Balaghat	30'85	...	...	37'49
Raipur	31'45	...	...	55'72
Bilaspur	29'30	...	...	46'02

An examination of monthly figures discloses the further significant fact that the death-rates were at their highest during the very period (the rains), when the relief given reached its high-water mark. A few instances are given below :—

District.	Highest Death-rate per month during the raining months.					
Nimar	16'34
Betul	13'65
Chhindwara	15'78
Wardha	12'77
Chanda	11'40

In Balaghat the highest death-rate was 7'07, and in Raipur, 5'90. It is legitimate to conclude that it was the so-called excessive relief that kept down the death-rate in Raipur. As it is, it was higher than the normal. This was inevitable, seeing that even the most perfect system of relief cannot keep the people in their usual health during an acute famine. Low vitality, induced by privations, inseparable from a severe agriculture failure, make the people an easy prey to the diseases that usually break out during the rains, and this cannot be wholly prevented. It may be pointed out here that the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur would only admit "scarcity" in his district and not "famine," and his relief operations were arranged for accordingly. But the death-rate in this district in the rains was the highest in the province. It reached the appalling figure, 17'76 per month in August, 1900.

The loss of population since 1891 as shown by the recent census in some of the worst districts is given below :—

District.	Loss per cent.						
Saugor	20·5
Damoh	12·4
Mandla	12·4
Narsingpur	14·5
Betul	11·7
Chanda	15·5
Balaghat	14·7
Raipur	8·9
Bilaspur*	13·1

The loss in the 18 British Districts has been 939,249 souls, or 8·7 per cent. Taking into account the yearly increase under normal conditions of, say, one per cent. per annum, the loss of population by death and low birth-rate, owing to the hard times, may be set down at about two millions.

A struggle against starvation could not have been carried on with the success that was attained in the Central Provinces without a large expenditure. But if the salvation of a province is worthy the efforts of a great Government, then the money has not been spent in vain. The following are the main heads of expenditure :—

Under the P. W. D. :—					Rs.
Wages ... ..	...	...	...	...	120,54,000
Gratuitous Relief ... ..	...	...	...	...	9,74,000
Incidental Charges ... ..	...	...	...	...	62,34,000
Total...					192,62,000

* It may be interesting to compare these figures with the figures showing loss of population in some of the worst-affected districts in the North-Western Provinces in the famine of 1896-97 :—

District.	Loss of Population since 1891.						
Banda	10·55
Hanuspur	10·72
Jhansi with Lalitpur	10·53
Ghazipur	15·19
Azimgurh	11·46

FAMINE RELIEF IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES 631

Under the Civil Officers :—						Rs.
Wages	...	...	...	...	...	77,37,000
Gratuitous Relief...	...	...	...	...	...	158,89,000
Incidental Charges	..	...	...	...	...	9,97,000
Total...						246,23,000
Grand Total...						438,85,000

The total expenditure in wages and gratuitous relief has been Rs. 366,54,000, of which the former represents 54 and the latter 46 per cent.

The cost per day-unit relieved has been as follows :—

	a.	p.
P. W. D. Relief	1	8
Village and Forest Works	1	3
Kitchen and Poor House	0	11
Village Relief	0	10

The expenditure works out to 3 pies day-unit less than in 1896-97. This represents on the total relieved a saving of nearly ninety lakhs of rupees. An allowance of about $1\frac{3}{4}$ annas with grain at double the normal price at the P. W. D. Works and $1\frac{1}{4}$ annas at the village-works does not seem to err on the side of over-liberality.

I have tried within the short compass of this paper to describe as briefly as I can the chief measures that were taken to save the people in the Central Provinces from a calamity for which the past offers no parallel. But if the calamity was unprecedented in its crushing severity, the efforts that were put forth to repair its terrible havoc were permeated throughout by a spirit of noble humanity, which subordinated every other consideration to the supreme consideration of the saving of human life. And non-official opinion throughout the province is unanimous that the result has been a great success. Subjecting the operations to the scrutiny of a strict judicial enquiry, it is possible to detect a flaw here and a flaw there, but making due allowance for the stupendous difficulties of the situation, difficulties transcending by far any that had taxed the powers of Government on any past occasion, it can scarcely be denied that the administration of famine relief in the Central Provinces in 1899-1900 has been an achievement of which any Government may well be proud. And this result is due as much to the organising ability and

untiring supervision of the head of the administration as to the self-denying labours of the local officers. And I venture to think that apart from the material gain, the moral effect of this splendid exhibition of humanity will draw closer together the tie that binds the people to their rulers and thus make for good Government in its highest sense.

B. K. BOSE.

Calcutta,
2nd February, 1902.

AGRICULTURAL OR VILLAGE BANKS IN INDIA.

IT was, of course, irrational to suppose that the millennium had set in for the Indian agriculturist on receiving the good news that he was to obtain advances on easy terms, through the medium of Agricultural Banks, and at the same time to be encouraged in habits of thrift. It was still better news to me that the managing bodies of these village Banks might undertake the settlement of the disputes which agitate and unsettle a village community, and prevent its members from ruining themselves with litigation. It would be equally unreasonable to despair or despond, because the progress hitherto made in realising these desirable objects has been small. New movements meet with opposition everywhere as such, and in India we have also the unreasonable and deplorable suspicion, with which every effort to benefit the people is usually met by them, to reckon with. I have heard the somewhat ill-natured remark made that the people of India do not desire to benefit others, and cannot, therefore, believe in a altruism. I should entirely refuse to accept such a sweeping condemnation, and ask western critics to reflect that a closer study of the points of difference between life in Asia and in Europe, might reveal directions of benevolent action in which the palm of superiority might even have to be conceded to the East. The treatment of poor relations, and perhaps that of the aged and infirm, is a case in point. But still I do most earnestly deplore the suspicious attitude to which I have referred, and the hindrance that it is to progress of all kinds.

We shall have, then, to wait till time has demonstrated the value of these institutions, and until education has prepared the people to appreciate them, for any very great progress to be made. In the meantime, we may do some good by considering whether any improvements could be made in the general lines on which the scheme is being worked, so as to disarm opposition and to court

popularity. And we may usefully consider whether there are any contingent advantages, other than those usually advanced in support of these institutions, which may commend them to well-wishers of the country.

In the first place it may be reasonably contended that the rate of interest, 9 per cent., laid down as that to be charged on advances to agriculturists in Mr. Dupersex's excellent little book,* seems a little high. I came across a European land-holder the other day, who told me that he had for the last twenty years been in the habit of making advances to cultivators in the North-Western Provinces of India, had never dreamed of taking a bond or any security of any kind, and had never lost a penny of his money ! Such reliable borrowers might almost obtain advances (certainly from their own landlords) free of charge. I have always tried to advocate the granting of these advances through landlords wherever possible. Government "takavi" advances might with advantage be distributed in this way, and thus obviate the delays which so often vitiate their usefulness. Then exception might be taken to tying down these Bank Committees, at least in the inception stage of their work, with so many rules and regulations. Some of these might tend to the exclusion from the benefits of the institution, of the very people who need them most. Would it not be possible to leave the discretion of the Committees, as to the persons to whom advances should be made, absolutely unfettered ? Again, would not the usefulness and popularity of these Banks be largely increased, if they were to make advances of grain and seed as well as cash, and if they were to include in the list of persons they desired to benefit by their operations, such petty traders as weavers and the like, whose productions are principally intended for use by the village community ? Personally I should like to see the Banks making advances for marriage expenses and other family charges. We have to recognise that these expenses are unavoidable, and it is the excess of them only that is to be deprecated, so that the granting of loans for the purpose would be in every way desirable, because it would enable the Committees to put pressure upon applicants not to exceed a reasonable scale. Another good result which would follow the

* "Village Banks—How to Organise and How to Work Them." Allahabad Government Press, 1901.

granting of advances for this purpose would be that the objection sometimes urged against these Banks by agriculturists, of the impossibility of breaking with their money-lenders, would be no longer valid. They now say that they will never get money from their old creditors for these purposes, if they transfer all their safe debts to these Banks. Another useful function of the Banks would be enabling the Committees to purchase useful agricultural implements, and either hire them out, or give them out on loan.

But I am not quite sure that the contingent advantages of this scheme do not come very near outweighing the direct ones, and by their obvious importance to the country, appeal with overwhelming force to all those who have its interests near their hearts. Would it not be possible by this means to instil new life into an institution which is considered now-a-days either dead or moribund (to the infinite loss of everybody)—I mean the time-honoured old village Panchayets? Might not these Panchayets exercise a sort of triple or even quadruple function? Besides raising the agricultural Banks, and deliberating on agricultural improvements, might they not help in furthering the cause of technical education, and above all, develop into arbitration courts? It is probable, that when the Committeemen had gained a reputation in the exercise of their other functions, parties having disputes would be only too glad to have them settled by their means. It would be for the suitors to convince the arbitrators that they had returned to the old habit of cheerful submission to decisions, and would not accuse the Panchayet of corruption in the event of an unfavourable opinion. In many ways the people of India will have to change their own habits before they can derive substantial benefit from anything we can do for them. They accuse us of giving them expensive law-courts which consume their savings, but they forget that these very expenses of litigation check the almost universal resort to the baneful indulgence, and that their frequently unfounded accusations against arbitrators, prevents respectable persons from having anything to do with their cases. They accuse us of handing them over to the tender mercies of venal subordinates who levy blackmail on them, but they forget that there can be no bribe-takers without bribe-givers. They accuse us of doing little for their material benefit, but they forget that the suspicion with which they regard all our efforts at improvement, and

their own apathy, and want of public spirit, largely paralyse our powers of doing anything for them. Of course, this makes no difference to our duty to give the people as good an administration as it is in our power to bestow, and this is what makes the revival of the old Panchayet system so important. Here we should have a kind of local self-government which is indigenous to the country, and suited to it in every way, and not an exotic growth which derives no sustenance, so to speak, from the soil of transplantation. Our administration often seems to fail from working in the wrong direction, from the top downwards; and here we should reverse all this and work from the bottom upwards, the only true way. The value of these institutions as a kind of medium between the Government and the people, can scarcely be overstated, and they might, to a great extent, replace the venal subordinate whom we all deplore. In all cases where the inner life of the people was concerned, in the working of such departments of the administration as sanitation, direct taxation, excise, &c., their value would be very great. At the risk of being charged with digressing from my subject, I cannot refrain from discussing one indirect function of these village Panchayets a little in detail, because I consider it a matter of such importance. Might not these bodies be largely utilised by the Judicial Department in local inquiries into all issues of fact? I think it is largely these issues of fact which cause the Courts of Justice in India to be polluted by the atmosphere of false evidence which hangs about them. The parties to a suit could surely agree that any issue of fact should be decided by the village Panchayet, or the Court could direct this course. The Panchayets will do their work best if hampered by as few rules and regulations as possible, and I fancy their findings would rarely be otherwise than correct. The imagination fails to picture the increase in the usefulness of the Courts, were this contaminating influence removed. I believe that a large number of persons connected with law are simply longing for some escape from the demoralisation which the trial of issues of fact on paid evidence involves. If the old Hindu and Mahomedan oaths, on the Ganges water and the Koran respectively, were in use, or even the placing of the hand on the head of some person to whom the witness is tenderly attached, things would not be so bad. But under existing circumstances there is no binding influence

whatever on the witness to tell the truth. Cross-examination, to which the Bar attach such importance, may reveal the fact of a witness having perjured himself, but in India it is just as likely to confuse a true witness, and destroy his credibility. And even were this engine as effective as the "gentlemen of the long robe" affect to believe, there is still the demoralising influence of perjured and professional testimony. In many cases I believe members of the native Bar are positively forced by their clients to resort to dark and tortuous ways, against their will, and I do not believe they are as bad as they are painted. Personally I should like to see these same native practitioners utilised as Commissioners for local inquiry into issues of fact: but they would probably largely utilise the Panchayets if so appointed.

I now come to one function of the Panchayets which falls more directly within the scope of a Bank, or co-operative credit association. Supposing that, as one step towards relieving the people of the venal subordinate of whose exactions they so loudly complain, we could see our way to substituting the single penalty of sale of estates for all the various methods of location now in vogue. Would it not then be possible for these Banks to become a kind of buffer between the really solvent proprietor and a necessarily hard and fast system of Revenue Administration? The Banks would never allow such a person to be sold up, and in the case of a hopelessly improvident or hopelessly impecunious proprietor, one might almost say that the sooner the estate changed hands the better. In cases where the Government is the direct landlord, the only difficulty would be experienced where the collective holding of the village community had yielded place to individual holdings. And ever here a return to the old collective system might surely be brought about to the advantage of everybody.

Finally, in cases of famine or scarcity, these new or revived village institutions would surely be of the greatest possible service. Money might be advanced through them, especially to those persons whom it is so difficult to reach through the ordinary Famine Relief agencies, the indigent aristocracy. They might be able to arrange most successfully and effectively for that most difficult and important department of Famine Relief, the suspension of the Government demand on failure of crops. In all probability the Bank Committees .

would but rarely recommend the suspension of revenue, fearing to load a proprietor with accumulated arrears, but would themselves advance him the wherewithal to pay. But he would get the money at a reasonable rate instead of being burdened with usurious interest in addition to his other calamities, as too often happens under our present system. On the whole, the scheme under consideration, properly worked, might go some way towards accomplishing the economical salvation of India. But we must not be too sanguine as to results, nor too ready to give bad names to the institutions we are trying to supersede.

For instance, when we talk of replacing individualism by a system of collective responsibility, are we quite sure that the disintegrating effect of the age has not made this an impossibility? We cannot say that the Panchayet system is dead as long as caste Panchayets exist, but how about the existence, at any time, of any other kind of Panchayets?

Again, we might claim for these Banks that they will oust the usurious money-lender from the village, and substitute for him an institution which shall be part and parcel of the village community. But are we quite sure that this third party is quite the evil thing that we imagine him to be and that he does not sometimes fulfil a useful function in the village economy? Perhaps there is room for village-banks as well as money-lenders in rural India. Or might not the money-lenders themselves take up the banking business on a co-operative basis? Is it not the untrustworthiness of the agriculturist which is largely responsible for the high rate of interest which he has to pay for accommodation? Any money-lender would probably be willing to advance a trustworthy agriculturist money at 12 per cent., and if the money were collected for him without risk, he would certainly lend at a rate as low as 9. If we are really to regenerate the cultivator, and charge ourselves with the task of supplying him with capital, could not some plan of doing this be thought out? All these and many similar questions require to be threshed out before we can be quite sure of our position.

One thing, at all events, seems quite certain, and that is that if the money-lender is ignored, and made antagonistic, the villager will not be able to obtain advances for domestic and other needs, when

he requires them. Of the three classes concerned in the matter, there is not one which views the establishment of these Banks without suspicion, and in some instances the suspicion is not unreasonable. The cultivator fears that his old financiers will strike him off their books, and that he will no longer have the support of the third party in his struggles against the proprietor. The landlord fears that the tenant may become too much emancipated from his control, through the operation of the Banks. The money-lender thinks that the new arrangement will saddle him with all the bad debts, and leave the Bank to derive profit from all the safe ones. Everybody is asking what is the extent of the responsibility which the unlimited liability involves, and whether private debts are covered by the Banks' reserve funds. Until a test case is instituted, and it is seen whether or not the Courts will consider that a decree against a member in his private capacity can be executed against the Bank's funds, these uncertainties and perplexities will not be cleared away. I have heard the opinion that the Banks can have no rights or responsibilities at all, can neither sue or be sued, until they are registered under the Companies' Act.

It is most important that all these matters should be thoroughly discussed, and all these uncertainties cleared up, or we cannot hope for any great measure of success. In no case should we be over sanguine as to results, or expect a new scheme to attain popularity otherwise than slowly. And in accordance with the great principle, which I have endeavoured to emphasise in a former article, contributed to this paper ("Police Reform in India"), we must not be surprised if evil results ensue as well as good ones. But I feel confident that the good will outweigh the evil, and do most earnestly hope, that the people of India will not let this opportunity of curing some of the ills from which they are suffering be missed, through apathy, suspicion, or want of public spirit. As stated above, I anticipate the greatest possible benefit from the revival, or creation, of the village Panchayet system. If this system never existed, can we not create it? If we could only get some agency like this, we should be able to accomplish a number of desirable things. We should at last have a medium by which rulers and ruled could be brought into sympathetic contact, and the deplorable suspicion with which each regards the other be removed. We could simplify our administration, and

enforce the collective responsibility of the village community for the orderly conduct of every member. I firmly believe that much help would be derived from such an organisation in the solution of what I consider the "burning questions" of Indian domestic policy at the present day, income-tax administration, police reform, the check of perjury in the courts, and simplification of procedure, Revenue and Famine policy, and the drink question.

To return for a moment, in conclusion, to our special subject of Agricultural Banks, I think it may be of service if I append a synopsis of the various improvements which have been suggested in the new organisation, and of the questions which seem to await solution, before further progress can be looked for.

IMPROVEMENTS.

- I. Lowering of the rate of interest.
- II. Advances of seed and grain as well as cash.
- III. Advances for the purchase of agricultural implements to be let out on hire.
- IV. Advances to petty traders such as weavers.
- V. Simplification of rates and procedure.

QUESTIONS.

- I. Was there ever such a thing as a General Village Panchayet in India; and if not, could one be created?
- II. Should the new organisation distribute Government takavi advances?
- III. Should the Banks take up technical education?
- IV. Should they make advances for marriage expenses or not?
- V. Should the Committees be utilised for arbitration, or decision of issues of fact?
- VI. Could they assist in the Revenue administration?
- VII. Could money be distributed through the same agency during Famines?
- VIII. Could the money-lender be utilised in the new organisation?
- IX. Does not the condition of unlimited liability act as a deterrent?
- X. Are the Banks' funds liable for the private debts of members?
- XI. Should the new organisations be registered under the Companies' Act, and do they fulfil the conditions of that Act?

C. W. WHISH.

THE MURDER OF WOMEN.

(A FEW REFLECTIONS,)

I WAS deeply interested in Mr. Whitworth's article under the above heading in the January number of this Review. It is highly suggestive and sympathetic, and, in its indirect bearing on the cause of Social Reform and the status of woman in India, it deserves thoughtful study. In what I shall note in the sequel I do not for a moment intend to criticise the able writer's views so much as to supplement them by certain thoughts suggested by his article.

Mr. Whitworth starts by citing instances which show conclusively the recent tendency among Indian law-courts, original and appellate, to give undue weight to the plea of provocation advanced in cases of wife-murder. In spite of glaring facts pointing to certain premeditation, the courts appear to regard the plea with favour and ignore the absence of the essential ingredient of suddenness in the provocation. I need not stop to reproduce the cases instanced by him* ; but while fully agreeing with him on this fact, I

* Only with regard to one case quoted by him I would point out one or two facts which alter the aspect of that case in some of its incidents. In the case of Savlya, quoted from newspaper reports, Mr. Whitworth remarks:—"No mention is made in the newspaper report as to why he did not attack his rival. But the method of killing suggests that Savlya waited till the other man was out of the way. To drop a heavy stone on the head is a common method of murder in this country, but it ordinarily requires that the victim should be asleep."

If, as I believe, this is the case which I had occasion to inquire into and commit to the court of sessions, the facts, as given by Savlya, whose confession was the sole evidence in the case, were that the paramour fled before he could be hurt, the situation being peculiar—accused watching the "guilty" couple who were in the bed of a *nalla*, from the edge of a precipitous bank, unobserved, from where he dropped the stone on the couple who were found in the act. The man, warned by the earth slipping from under accused's feet, fled, but the woman, who was at a disadvantage, got her head smashed. However, there were certain elements in the story as given by the accused, which pointed to distinct premeditation, and, accordingly, I charged him with the grave offence of murder, as far as I recollect. But he was finally convicted by the higher court of the minor offence.

proceed to inquire into one or two important questions suggested by Mr. Whitworth's plea for a stricter application of the law in the interests of injured womankind.

The most important point arising in this discussion is that, instead of lowering themselves to the level of the low ideals of the people of the country, the law courts should strive to lift the people to higher ideals by insisting on a strict administration of the law in cases of the kind mentioned by Mr. Whitworth. The question then is—whether judicial tribunals would be justified in thus lending themselves to what at first sight would appear to be an encroachment on a province lying outside the sphere of the administration of justice. It may be asked by some whether the Courts would not be exceeding their functions by practically trying to introduce social reform from the vantage-ground of the seat of justice, instead of confining their activity to “groovey” administration of the law as it exists. I must hasten to state that I do not belong to that class of objectors. First, because I deny the justice of the principle that law courts are mere machines for working the letter of the law, and hold that it is one of their functions to affect for good and regulate, by their proper activity, the moral tone of the society for the benefit of which they exist. Otherwise, penal law would be deprived altogether of its high moral aspect and reduced to the low level of a mechanism possessing mere retributory action. Secondly, on examining the present question, I believe that in reality the courts would not be exceeding their proper sphere by thus lending their aid to the cause of social advancement. For, what Mr. Whitworth really pleads for is, not the courts going out of their way and regarding as murder what is not such, but really correcting the erroneous interpretation and working of the law, whereby the courts unwarrantably ignore the essence of suddenness in the alleged provocation, and thus demanding that murder should be called murder, and by no softer name, simply because the culprit takes shelter under the misleading plea of provocation.* Thirdly, and lastly,

* The *Times of India*, in a leader in its issue of 6th February, 1902, noticing Mr. Whitworth's article, says:—"It appears to us to indicate a very strange judicial obtusity to argue against allowing in mitigation of murder the provocation afforded by suddenly discovered conjugal infidelity; to draw no distinction between killing upon this motive and killing for gain."—But the writer of the leader

because nothing could be more welcome for the furtherance of social reform than the incidental enlistment of the sympathetic aid, within recognised limits, of the existing State machinery in its ordinary working. And the actual history of the administration of justice points to the fact that law and the law courts have more than once thrown the full weight of their authority, whenever possible, on the side of enlightenment and social advance. The extinction of Sati would have been an impossibility if the narrower view of the functions of law and law courts were religiously adhered to. The celebrated Rakhmabai case (in civil law) is another instance in point, although there may be another side to the case on behalf of parental authority and the danger of an undesirable encouragement to revolt against it and thus upset domestic institutions. The statutory advantages, timidly and grudgingly given though they are, yet give to the widows more in the same direction.

Having so far shown my entire agreement with the important issue involved in Mr. Whitworth's discussion, I would now, with all deference, indicate where I part company with him on some secondary points; though, as I shall finally point out, this difference will not come in the way of my fully sympathising with the main object of his contention. Mr. Whitworth practically claims that the law must be administered without reference to the popular ideas, customs and notions of individual communities, the only aim being one great ideal set up by the higher notions of civilisation. As a general principle this is unassailable, as applied to penal law. And yet it must be remembered that such general principles are occasionally subject to exceptions, considering that their field of work lies in such a complex sphere as human social organisations which are

obviously contemplates cases which Mr. Whitworth never included in his survey. In fact, Mr. Whitworth's real point is missed here. If the infidelity is "suddenly discovered," the case is by itself taken out of the class considered by Mr. Whitworth, who simply deals with cases where the provocation is not sudden on the very face of the facts, and only allowed to be such—not in clear terms, but merely by tacit acceptance—by the misdirected leniency of the judges. Besides, the simple insistence that cases of the kind dealt with by Mr. Whitworth should be regarded as murder proper, does not necessarily imply that they are not distinguished from killing for gain and the like. By all means distinguish between them. But the distinction can sufficiently be recognised by assessing a lighter punishment in cases of conjugal infidelity than in the other class of cases. Mitigation of sentence is enough; it need not be claimed that the nature of the offence itself should be altered illegally.

marked by inequalities of surface and character. Thus, among wild tribes, where human life is regarded lightly and differently from that feeling of sanctity which attaches to it in a state of high civilisation, the *punishment*, at any rate, for murder will not be the same or as severe as in the case of civilised communities. In the same manner, due allowance must be made for the ingrained notions of a community when dealing with acts which assume a special aspect in the light of such notions. One of Mr. Whitworth's arguments against making such allowance is this :—"The recognition by any community of a right of private vengeance has no practical bearings upon the power of self-control on the part of any member of that community. A man deprived by anger of his self-control does not stop to regard his legal position." True enough. But it is really the ideas to which he is accustomed by his mind being saturated with them, that create the standard and guide his actions involuntarily. Hence the element of recognised popular ideas claims admission to consideration—in the matter of assessment of punishment only, I would again point out, and not of classing the offence itself. And even then a great deal must be left to the circumstances of each individual case.

Mr. Whitworth attempts to weigh the possible value of provocation in cases of conjugal infidelity, and in so doing advances a startling contention. Says he—if woman is a chattel, to be kept under lock and key, the husband's anger should be directed against the paramour and not against the seduced wife ; and he runs into the fallacy of analogy when he says that a man does not get angry with his horse for being stolen. Now, even if woman is a chattel, she is not so in the literal sense of the word. She is allowed an adequate amount of intelligent volition, and, unlike the horse who cannot decide whether he should let himself be stolen or not—has the power of will to refuse or allow to be seduced. It is this contribution on her part to the joint guilt in adultery that makes her an important sharer in the responsibility attaching to it. The husband naturally expects from the wife faithfulness to the marriage-tie, and when she combines with another in wilfully breaking it, the husband wants to punish her as equally a principal offender. Whether he is justified in administering the punishment himself, and that by murder, is not pertinent to this particular question. But the

man is sorely justified in feeling wronged principally by *her* in consequence of her treacherous treatment of his love. He would be certainly excused if he viewed her as a greater offender than the paramour. The latter owes him nothing comparatively, save the duties of a neighbour; while she owes her husband everything in this matter. When such is the case with classes which regard woman more as a chattel than anything higher, the provocation would be still keener in proportion to the height of disappointment in the case of communities higher in the scale of intelligence and moral altitude.

Mr. Whitworth presents an impassioned* appeal to the joint tribunal of feeling and reason by laying out a rational analysis of the feelings which *should*, according to him, predominate in the mind of an injured husband. He argues that adultery should provoke disappointment more than anger, and move the wronged man to renouncement rather than retribution. "To a man high in the scale of civilisation the discovery (of conjugal infidelity) should rather benumb with astonishment than excite to violence." This is generally unquestionable. And yet such is the complexity of human nature that very often the numbness of astonishment itself is followed almost as an effect or re-action, whatever you may like to call it, by a sudden impulse of violence. Take the typical case of Othello. I do not forget that Othello is a creation of Shakespeare's imagination. But I would also remind that Shakespeare's characters are creations of an imagination which is only a sister power to Nature, and they are as true and real as, if not truer and more real than, those in the actual human world. Nor do I forget that Othello is selected as a Moor, and thus perhaps his case may not represent a high scale of civilisation. But, on the other hand, it is to be remembered that for all practical purposes Othello was as highly civilised as any Italian of his time. Now, then, how does the discovery of the fancied infidelity of Desdemona affect Othello? He passes through the various stages of incredulity, suspicion, conviction, benumbed astonishment, disappointment and despair, alternation of sudden rage and despondency, and oscillation between murder for vengeance

* Mr. Whitworth speaks, in this connection, of Hindus as a class among whom there is no wooing and winning. But it is not clear why Hindus should be singled out. The same remark would apply to Mussalmans equally, and, as a matter of fact, to a majority of the Parsi community still.

and murder for stopping the woman from further sin—a motive, this last one, created by the self-deception of an injured husband who has already lost his self-control and yet wants to justify himself to himself as a cool and collected judge. I cannot stop to enter into an elaborate analysis of this complexity of feeling presented by the unerring hand of a great master. But what I would point out is that injured husbands, when they lose their self-control by brooding over their wrongs, do not stop to analyse their feelings (just as Mr. Whitworth himself has said that such a man does not stop to regard his legal position) ; and it is not in their power to arrange the order in which their feelings should run, or make up their mind as to what their feelings should be—which is the true genesis of acts of* temporary insanity, like wife murder, &c. And after all, a great deal depends on individual temperaments, while general class temperaments and ideas play a general part in these moral phenomena.

Besides, what Mr. Whitworth says in this exalted analysis is about man “high in the scale of civilisation,” whereas a great majority of Indian wife-murders are committed by men in a lower scale of civilisation, whose ideals of womanhood and the various relations of life are not as exalted as they should be. True, the law might help in raising the ideal. But it cannot at the same time totally ignore the existing state of social ideas. It must be by a judicious combination of these two lines that the object can best be secured.

One word more on another secondary point. Mr. Whitworth believes that “probably in almost every case of adultery on the part of a woman there has been some contribution, in some form or other, of cruelty or neglect, on the part of the husband.” With all deference to Mr. Whitworth’s long experience, one must hesitate before endorsing such a sweeping and hazardous guess. I would only appeal to the every-day experience of members of the Indian community in this matter and ask if they could honestly share this belief. The strata of society from which cases of wife-murder come possess no high notions of conjugal delicacy of treatment, and the husband and the wife do not expect of each other more than the ordinary rights of wedded life. And as for cruelty, I have met with amusing instances which all the same possess great significance. If a woman prays for an order of maintenance, and a witness

* I do not use this expression in the strictly legal sense.

on behalf of the woman herself is asked whether the husband does not beat her—the naïve answer that is given is—"Why! Is he not her husband?" I do not for a moment wish to justify or defend a state of society which can look with complacency on such ideas. All I wish to put in prominence is that facts must be recognised and not ignored.

And, as I have said above, such recognition should be combined with a simultaneous attempt to raise the ideal. This can be done, in cases of the kind discussed by Mr. Whitworth, by strictly regarding them as murder and nothing less, and yet in awarding punishment stopping short of the extreme penalty. Thus, slowly but surely, the administration of law can incidentally help social reform in raising the ideals of the community by showing unmistakably that it will not help the murderer of a wife simply because he seeks for provocation, and by thus insisting on the sanctity of human life and the greater sanctity of a woman's life.

And this leads to a further suggestion that Indian society—*i.e.*, the intelligent members thereof—must strive to set before the masses the high ideal of a chivalrous regard and respect for womankind, which would look upon all attacks on a woman's person as acts of cowardice. If this feeling once permeates society, the number of wife-murders will decrease appreciably. And all well-wishers of the land should heartily welcome the aid of the law in securing this end, which Mr. Whitworth's suggestions are highly calculated to secure. After parting company with him on secondary issues, I feel a proud pleasure in meeting him here fully again on the main issue of his contention. I am aware, my countrymen will not be wanting, who will cry aloud that the Hindu ideal of womanhood has ever been noble and high, as typified in the characters of Sita and all the bright stars of ancient India. But, while fully admitting this fact, one must note that, to the present-day Hindu mind, these ideals are more to be worshipped from a humble level than imitated or approached in practical life. Yet we need not despair.

THE RAILWAY COMMISSION AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

COMMISSIONS are the order of the day, and if they tend to remove the block to the progress of the State coach, much good will result. But the facts need not be overlooked, which cause them to be resorted to, and possibly we may be able to gather therefrom if there is likely to be any substantial result to their labours. The information they are in a position to pick up is, of course, that of which the Government Bureaux are already in possession. . . . There is a grand opportunity afforded to every officer, with whom the Commissions come in contact, to air their views fully. But will they do so ?

The practice of the Bureau does not encourage too free use of the tongue. If it did, there would be no need for Commissions outside it. The Bureau is fully occupied with the current duties of offices ; to engage in special subjects means delay to the public business. From motives of economy the staff is kept down to a minimum. Beyond this, again, the tone of an administration, which is a pure despotism of personal rule, discountenances the assertion of too much personality in subordinates. The *amour propre* of seniors is shocked by the slightest hint of fallibility in the views they have formed and the action they have ordered thereon.

With a small staff and wide intervals between the members, and scant powers of initiative, correspondence has to be resorted to, to inform seniors and obtain their sanction. It takes a zealous officer all his time to convey the information in such a way as to prevent misunderstandings and preserve himself from the indignity of the snub which may lessen his dignity and prestige. But far worse happens when a wrong order has been issued, through some oversight of the senior, or there exists some misconception as to the real situation. Superiors cannot be expected to accept blame for anything, meanwhile

the promotion and prospects of the juniors are wholly in their hands. It is not even wise for seniors to be too personal or assertive. For by the system of selection exercised in all promotion, the man who has been previously in command occasionally finds himself, later on, commanded by the subordinate.

In this way the working of a bureau is totally different from the ordinary social or commercial business of a country. Commercial business is managed by the co-operation of persons in agreement over details. The objects at stake encourage the fullest interchange of views between the persons engaged, no matter what may be their rank and position. And of all commercial undertakings there is, perhaps, none requiring greater grasp of detail, with power to dispose of it promptly, than railways. The bureaucratic system is wholly unsuited to it.

The Government of India, with its tremendous power of personal rule and financial responsibility, has done much for the careful development of our railway system : but it has been intolerably slow. The plan of a Guarantee, of 5 per cent., adopted at first, was found to burden the finances on account of interest. The reason of this continuing, for a long period, was the fact that only expensive trunk lines were at first made. Without branches and cross lines these naturally affected only the through traffic of a narrow strip of country on each side of the line. Recent developments of branches which almost invariably pay the market rate of interest, in a year or two, demonstrate what a large saving in interest charges there might have been, if they had been constructed sooner.

But personal rule, since crystallised round the India Office, stepped in to provide narrow gauge railways, the principal justification being the greater length of line which could be laid for a given sum of money. A wider tract of country could thus be supplied with railways, in a given time, than by spending say 25 per cent. more capital on a wider gauge. But the narrow gauge was used for trunk lines. Meanwhile the rate of interest in the market for Indian securities had been steadily declining from 5 per cent. till it became 4, and is now $3\frac{1}{2}$ or lower. It became more economical for the Government to take over the old lines, if the shareholders would not accept extensions at a lower rate of guarantee. It seems likely that this could have been arranged, but as there has been a drop in the

rate since most of the lines were taken over, the Government has scored by purchasing. Concessions have, later, been granted on guarantees of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 per cent. with some share in surplus profits. Branch lines are occasionally undertaken with 4 per cent. taken from the main line profits.

As regards the working of the railways, those conceded to Companies are held under contracts which are extremely complicated. No ordinary shareholder could ever hope to grasp his position or prospects under them. The purchase of the Great Indian Peninsular by the Government has entirely disillusioned them in regard to the *bona fides* of a co-operation with the Secretary of State. The latter had the option of paying for the purchase either in cash, or by annuity, whichever might be most convenient. But in all equity the annuity should sell for the value of the purchase money, which could be claimed ! The Government may be within its legal rights, but confidence has been rudely disturbed, and all Indian railways have suffered in sympathy. Apparently the shareholders thought the annuity was calculated on the value of an Indian guarantee, the rate of interest for which has always been higher than for a purely British guarantee. And since the payment of it is made out of the Indian Treasury, their view does not seem so very unreasonable. The contention of Government that the shareholders have received an excessive rate of guarantee on the old contracts, for a long period, can have little weight, when we consider that the shares are often changing hands at the market rate, and the burden really falls on those caught holding them at the moment of the purchase.

As to the machinery and men for moving the traffic and earning the revenue, it is not likely that much difference will be found between the men or the methods used on the State Railways and the Companies' lines. The interests of the staff of the two are, however, not identical. Those of the latter are bound up with the railways they specially serve. The interests of the staff of the State Railways coincide with those of the Bureau, and the employees look for pay and promotion by transfer, or in other directions. Not the least attractive of these is advancement to the posts, directly under the Government of India, or higher still under the India Office, or to well earned and useful retirement with a seat on an Indian Railway Board. Advancement in these directions depends on the preservation

of the bureaucratic instincts and traditions, which prevail in the atmosphere of the India Office, where we are told no man can breathe without the sanction of the principal consulting authorities whose offices, filled apparently on the hereditary principle, have accreted a vast monopoly of patronage.

How any new policy, which may affect these vested interests, can be carried through the Bureau to a satisfactory issue, it is impossible to conceive. Yet it is a policy totally destructive of them, which is called for in every direction.

We have only to look at the example of the baneful monopoly, sought to be maintained by the East Indian Railway, in face of the pressing need for more lines of rail to Calcutta from the Coal Fields and Upper India. We have only to look at the constitution of the Boards, to find the same bureaucratic influence pervading all the Companies' Home managements. The Government Director and Consulting Engineer figure on most of the Boards, and dominate the Council. The Companies, as far as they represent private enterprise, cannot be said to exist. Equally with the State Railways, they are simply a part of the Great Bureaucracy.

It will probably be no part of the functions of the Railway Commission to take up points such as these, but they require placing before those whose interests are above those of the Bureau. The interests of the British workman, the manufacturer who is ready to find the capital to employ him, and of the Indian labourer, require that facilities for investment be afforded on commercial lines. Assuming, then, that the Commission reports on the lines of British Imperial interests, and not merely as part of the bureaucratic machinery, effect will only be given to it through the direct action of the Viceroy, supported by the British Parliament.

The ways in which the co-operation of Companies is beneficial to a country are numerous. They deal wholly with the commercial possibilities, and the study of the management is to push investment into positions where the return of dividends is speedy and most assured.

A localised administration like that of a Company's Railway Manager, with a Board, and the Money Market behind all, forms a complete autonomy from the Bureau. That is to say, if we want the capital to be attracted from England, if we wish the greatest efficiency of

traffic initiative, and a wholesome decentralisation of commercial operations from the Bureau, we must use fully the agency of Companies.

State Railway Managers depend for their capital on the amounts arbitrarily distributed by the Finance Minister, between the whole of the public services, without any special reference to railways or the dividends. At one time a manager is in despair to get money for waggon construction, necessitated by an expansion of the traffic. At another he tears his hair to know how to expend a sudden grant of money, within a given short time, for which no preparation is possible.

The Ministry of Finance, with an elaborate table of Receipts and Expenditure in detail of each and every railway, forming part of the Imperial Budget, expects to regulate the railway outlay and revenue in the same way as for the Civil Administration, the conditions of which are totally different. If the money for a proposed jail is not easily to be spared this year, it may be deferred till next without doing much harm to the country. But waggons and engines are called for by expansion of trade and the progress of the Empire. They are legitimate capital outlay, and should not be taken out of revenue.

But not content with applying the financial system to the State lines, the whole of the moneys which may at any time be subscribed for the purposes of railway construction or working, in which the Government is in the smallest degree a partner, have to be drawn into the same vortex of the Imperial Budget, and be allotted, not necessarily in full as required, but at the pleasure of the Financial Department. It is not so very long ago, that a railway manager was in the unenviable dilemma of having to forcibly appropriate funds for coal contracts, or expose himself to the possibility of not being able to run the traffic. The absurdity of the whole system as applied to commercial undertakings is quite apparent. It may be quite possible for the Railways to be taken out of the Imperial and put into a Commercial Budget, as has often been suggested, but even this would only be a half measure. It would not do away with the centralised management of State Railways, as a single concern. It would not put the money market into touch with Indian Railways, but merely with the Government for possible loans. The mere accountant and statistician would

still manage the undertakings in detail and baboodom would continue to ride rampant over the whole. We are thus irresistibly driven to the conclusion that, for the best effect, we must have autonomous railway managements, financed in direct communication with the money market at home. We have only to look at the successful development of the Bengal North-Western Railway, the least "assisted" and consequently, the most free from the blight of the Bureau, to see what might be done elsewhere.

However far the past policy may have been justified, on the ground of caution, the development has now passed the experimental bureaucratic stage, and a new system can safely be built up on the secure foundations already laid.

The next point to consider briefly, is the general plan on which the objects sought are to be inaugurated. Now these are not to be looked for by the aid of any highly scientific process intelligible to the few. If the public are to be taken into confidence, they want to co-operate on purely commercial bases. These include the purchase of a line, or an interest in it at the market value as a dividend paying concern. Instead of tempting promoters to enlist the public, under intricately worded contracts which bring little profit except to themselves, and no power to the Company, let the Government part with their railways, and if necessary resume possession, at stated intervals, at the market value, as going concerns. Another way would be, for a Company to assume an interest in an autonomous undertaking, by degrees. Many lines are earning over the average rate of interest. A Company entering on possession, would bring in new capital for Rolling Stock and Extensions, on which the dividend would be in ratio of the Company's holding to that of the Government, subject to a minimum of say $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The working of such a scheme is briefly noted at the end of this article. This plan would apparently have the approval of the money market, and would greatly assist the Government of India to decentralise their commercial undertakings. The surplus profits of the various Companies' undertakings would be the only figures appearing in the Imperial Budget on the revenue side, and vast economies would be effected in the clerical departments which

are at present necessary to complete the plan of centralised management. The Imperial Budget would be relieved of all outlay for the commercial lines made over to Companies, but would lose no part of the Revenue derivable from its previous investments in Railways. The lines of Railway constituted on this independent and autonomous principle would be in a better position, than they now are, to co-operate for through traffic, and great economies and increased efficiency would result from the establishment of a clearing house, instead of each line doing its own clearing. Baboodom and accounts establishments are not likely to favourably consider any move in this direction, for reductions of establishments are naturally regarded with abhorrence. But it seems as if the great expansion which succeeds efficient organisation soon absorbs superfluous establishments in more profitable directions. The clearing of the accounts of through traffic could probably be done for a small part of the present cost. Without a clearing house there is no facility for quickly arranging through charges, and the quotation of through rates, in touch with trade prices, is often slow enough to lose the markets altogether.

In adopting the autonomous principle for its Railways, the Government resumes its paramount position, as critic and arbitrator, which it drops as a detailed working agency for the public. Its Consulting Engineers and Inspectors are also taken out of the anomalous position of having to criticise the Government, in the interest of the public. In regard to the construction of Railways the Government agency has proved no less efficient than any other, but in connection with it there is the vast monopoly of the supply of the material through the India Office, of which the trade at home justly complains. Another drawback to the system, also exists in the fact that while the India Office retains all this responsibility, the mouths of the local officers in India are practically closed, and they can only assume the role of critics of qualities and prices, resulting in much friction, in the Bureau, and personal risk.

With the Railway system advanced as far as it is, it would be easy to go on in future, by the agency of Companies, and they could absorb most of the Government establishments in the construction of extensions.

If the outcome of the Railway Commission is to go thoroughly into all these matters of high policy, we may expect great results ; but they will have to be taken up by Parliament in the interest of British trade rather than with any view of improving present methods.

It used to be said in respect of the old guaranteed lines, while they were under construction, that with the 5 per cent. assured to the shareholders, they were indifferent to the amount of capital expended. On this account, the Government sanction was necessary to all expenditure in the gross. Such sanction need in no way be relaxed. Nor would the Government Audit be affected. In these matters much correspondence and consequent expense would be saved by arming the Local Consulting Engineers with full powers, subject, of course, to subsequent review. The centralisation of the last 20 years has nearly neutralised their usefulness.

The effect of the entry of a company, prepared to bring in capital at the market rate of interest, to develop a State Railway of which it will assume the working, may now be briefly sketched.

Assume that the State Line has cost 10 million sterling, and is earning a steady 6 per cent. Also that the market rate of interest, for this kind of Company, settles itself at 4 per cent. The figures overleaf will show the proportion of profits earned by the Government and the Company, up to the point when the Company has expended 10 million sterling on developing the system.

Capital			Profit Division between Government and Company.								
Company.	Government	Total.	£ Millions.	(a) Interest on total Capital at 6 per cent.	(b) Interest increment due to through traffic over extended system.*	Total profit of combined system. (a) + (b)		Company's Profit.		Government's Profit.	
						Per cent.	Per cent.	Total	Per cent.		
			£	£	£			£	£		
0	10	10	600,000	—	600,000	6.0	4.0	—	600,000	6.0	
1	10	11	660,000	60,000	720,000	6.5	4.25	42,500	677,500	6.7	
2	10	12	720,000	120,000	840,000	7.0	4.60	92,000	748,000	7.5	
3	10	13	780,000	180,000	960,000	7.4	5.02	150,600	809,400	8.0	
4	10	14	840,000	240,000	1,080,000	7.7	5.48	219,200	860,800	8.6	
5	10	15	900,000	300,000	1,200,000	8.0	6.00	300,000	900,000	9.0	
6	10	16	960,000	360,000	1,320,000	8.3	6.58	394,800	925,200	9.2	
7	10	17	1,020,000	420,000	1,440,000	8.5	7.15	500,500	939,500	9.4	
8	10	18	1,080,000	480,000	1,580,000	8.8	7.84	627,200	952,800	9.5	
9	10	19	1,140,000	540,000	1,680,000	8.9	8.41	756,900	923,100	9.2	
10	10	20	1,200,000	600,000	1,800,000	9.0	9.00	900,000	900,000	9.0	

As previously stated, the division of the profits is made by allowing the company a minimum rate of interest, (in this example 4 per cent.) which percentage is increased with the proportion of the Company's holding in the joint concern.

There is no reason to anticipate the dividend decreasing by judicious additions to the capital account for bringing in Revenue. It is the particular business of the management to see to this. The increment to the dividend of the joint concern arises from the new territory opened up by extensions and branch lines. Both the Company and also Government thus benefit from the partnership.

It has not been an object of this article to disparage the Bureaucratic System, which has its legitimate functions in the general administration of the country, but to point out the limits of its usefulness in connection with commercial undertakings, and where the Government of India is strengthened, by encouraging local autonomy, and responsibility in Railway development.

J. F. DOWDEN,

Col. R. E. (Retired.)

* In proportion to the Company's capital.

KRISHNA : THE HINDU IDEAL.

NAME Krishna ; and what an association of ideas you find rushing upon you ? The most immoral of men, the thief, the sharper, the moving evil spirit of the events which led up to the great fight on the field of Kurukshetra, on the one hand ; the helper of helpless Draupadi in the historic assemblage at Hastinapur, the preacher of the practical religion enunciated in the Gita, the heroic soul who rid India of such tyrants as Kansa and Shishupala, the god of nearly three-fourths of the teeming millions of India, who at every step of their life remember him, worship him, are ready to die for him ; this is his picture presented on the other hand. The Christian missionary and the College-educated Hindu see in him the very incarnation of an Oriental sensualist ; the Vaishnava of either sex adores him as the image of all that is pure and divine. The object of this article is to show that, viewed in the light of history, there is nothing in the life and actions of Krishna, to make him out either a demon of lewdness and chicanery or a being with any superhuman or divine qualities. Facts which tell the tale of his life, when the searchlight of critical analysis is brought to bear on them, give up all that is unnatural, all that is immoral, all that is beyond the power of man to do ; in short, all which centuries of religious fervour have woven round him, and present him as a man—not an ordinary but an ideal man.

Every student of Indian religious history knows that the life of Krishna is described chiefly in three works, the Mahabharata, some of the Puranas and the Hari Vansha, the first being the earliest in point of date. It is not a work taken up exclusively with the life of Krishna ; it professes to narrate those momentous events in the ancient history of Hindustan, whose heroes were the Pandavas and the Kauravas ; Krishna was a close relative of both, and although his

connection with their history plays only a minor and an incidental part in its beginning, it thickens as it proceeds, so much so that towards the end it is he who is everything : in the stir of battle, it is his guiding genius which brings victory to the colours of the Pandavas ; in the calm deliberations of the Council, it is his advice which carries the day in their favour. It is for this reason that the seeker after the truth of his life first looks into the pages of this great epic to find a clue to it, such as would prove to the reader that Krishna was as real an individual as the other actors in that memorable drama, as good an entity in flesh and blood as Bhishma or Drona. The other works, the Puranas—the Vishnu, the Brahma Vaivarta,—the Hari Vansha, and the Bhágvata, cannot be called historical in the sense in which the Mahabharata is so called ; on their very face, they show accretions, mythological, unnatural, and incredible, which take them out of the category of authentic history ; therefore, although they treat of all those incidents in the life of Krishna, which we naturally expect the Mahabharata to have omitted, we still hesitate to place any reliance on them, unless the truth of their statements be proved by the strictest of tests.

Like all other ancient historical works, like the histories of Livy and Herodotus, the Mahabharata is full of incidents, unnatural, impossible, and exaggerated. Indeed, this element of handling truth so roughly at times so pervades it, that one feels completely at sea to know where one should draw the line between the credible and the incredible, the true and the untrue, the possible and the impossible. The notion, of course, has now exploded that the Mahabharata is nothing else than a string of palpable fictions ; but at the same time it has been brought out also that the real events narrated in it have been hidden away under a huge pile of interpolations, additions, and accretions, ancient and modern. Each successive generation added something to it to perpetuate the trend of thought peculiar to it : each intelligent hand, itching to write something, and actuated by the motive of adding one more stone to the cairn of a semi-historical, semi-divine work, laboured at adding to its size. A worshipper of Shiva was as desirous of handing down to coming generations the power and glory of his God ; a worshipper of Vishnu was equally desirous to do the same for his ideal, and both of them found a convenient field for the exercise of their

energies in the Mahabharata. It is out of such chaos that order has to be created ; and it has been found possible to do so from certain internal evidence furnished by the work itself.

The epic is divided into eighteen *Parvas* or parts, each consisting of several sections, or *Adhyāyas*. The very first Parva—*Adi-Parva*—opens with a section very much in the nature of a table of contents, and it is called the *Parva Sangraha adhyāya*. The minutest details of the events narrated in the work are given there ; nothing is omitted. Though there are reasons to suspect that this section itself is an addition to the epic, still it seems to have been tacked on to it very soon after its composition. We may, therefore, safely conclude that what is not mentioned in this section, but is still met with in the Mahabharata, is an interpolation. For instance, the two celebrated *Gitas*, the *Anugita* and the *Brahmangita*, fathered upon Krishna, though found to take up a large part of the epic, are still not alluded to in this section, and so are to be considered later additions. Similarly, a comparison of the number of *Shlokas* (verses) mentioned in the several sections, with their number at present, leaves no doubt about the more modern and recent characteristic of several parts of the work, and by a careful sifting of those figures, it is possible in several places to determine whether we are dealing with the original or the additional.

Within 150 *Shlokas* the author of the Mahabharata has furnished an epitome of the whole history in a section called the *Anukramanika parvadhyaaya*. They are *Shlokas* 93-257, in the section ; the number found thus is 159 instead of 150, shewing that even these nine *Shlokas* are an addition ; but here again we can safely lay down a rule, as mentioned above, that what is not mentioned in this epitome, and is still narrated in the work, is an interpolation, and did not form part of the original.

It is not at all rare to find in this history, two descriptions or reasons of an event given, one contradicting the other. Of these two, one must be an after-thought, an interpolation. An intelligent author, even though at times he may indulge in repetitions, will take care not to contradict what he has said before ; he will not write in a way that would make what he says before irreconcilable with what he says afterwards. There are scores of instances of such irreconcilable descriptions in the book, and we can unhesi-

tatingly say, therefore, that one at least of the two in each case has to be rejected.

Again, an ordinarily intelligent writer tries to preserve consistency in the characters of those whom he describes. If he paints a person religious, he will not, without strong reason, take away that character from him. Thus, if the writer of the *Mahabharata*, who was a writer of no mean order, has made Yudhishthira an intensely religious, truth-loving individual, we have every right to expect that, without good reason, he would not drop that character and clothe him in the mantle of dishonesty or chicanery. Hence, where, in the delineations of the characters of the several persons mentioned in the work, we find this sort of unreasonable inconsistency, we have to consider that trait of their character as an interpolation.

The style of a good author always partakes of certain characteristics, which stamp it as his own. There are several portions of the *Mahabharata*, the originality of which is not open to suspicion, and they preserve throughout the same characteristics of style. There are other portions, which are not marked by that style; if those portions also partake of the several characteristics given above, then, surely, there would be no mistake if we dropped them too as additions.

The *Mahabharata* is full of events which are out of place where they are narrated; neither the sequence of events, nor the propriety of the situation demands the happening or the narration of that particular event. This inopportuneness, coupled with any one of the traits mentioned above, would lead one strongly to suspect the genuineness of that particular matter.

Lastly, supposing we accept one of the two irreconcilable descriptions mentioned above as the correct one, and if that be found to partake also of any of the characteristics mentioned before, then even that correct one lays itself open to rejection, as being an interpolation.

An attentive and repeated study of the *Mahabharata*, guided by the suggestions indicated above, leads one to conclude that the epic in its present state is made up of three different layers. The skeleton is not a very large one, but that forms the most essential part of the whole body; if you remove it, you are nowhere, because the very basis of the structure goes. But that is not the case with

the other or second layer, superimposed on the first. If that be removed, the history of the *Bhārata* suffers in no way, its continuity remains none the less preserved, and the essential events of the narration march onwards without any interruption. There are special traits again which distinguish each of these layers. Krishna, with whom we are concerned at present, all throughout the first layer is presented in the character of only a human being, a man, though endowed with powers and intelligence more than ordinary ; while the second *stratum* invariably makes of him a superhuman being, an individual endowed with supernatural powers, in short, a god. The third and last layer is merely a hotch-potch of all shades of opinions and thoughts, it has not the remotest bearing on the essential events of the history, but has simply been made a vehicle for the conveyance of instruction to the masses, in matters domestic and religious, by all those who thought that they had a word to say on the subject, and a word such as the world should listen to.

It may be mentioned that though the Mahabharata is said to be a record of contemporary history, really speaking the work which we possess is not the old or the original one ; it is one composed by Vaishampayana, and not by its original author Vyāsa. So even when, after extricating ourselves from the confused mass of additions and interpolations, we fall back on the original, we have not the satisfaction of learning that we have fallen back on *the* original.

We may next take up the Purānas which, though at present generally discredited, as being the repositories of mythological and allegorical narrations, are really not so. They are in their essence based on traditions, current amongst the people of ancient India. There is some basic truth in them, and so we cannot wholly reject all that is said in them. The *Vishnu Purāna*, the *Bhāgvat*, and the *Harivansha*, though clothed in a mythological garb, can still by the process mentioned above be laid bare, and it is possible to thus expose the truth and have a peep at it. We shall take only one instance, and show how the truth of an event gets so crushed out of it, as it is handled by generation after generation of writers, that in its last stage, we find it next to impossible to find out the original. We shall take only one instance of this dialogic process, as Max Müller calls it, and see how it turns a merely innocent incident in the life

of Krishna into an unnatural and improbable adventure at his hands. The story, current at present, is that his maternal uncle Kansa, when Krishna was still a child, sent him a giantess, huge and ugly, in the disguise of a lovely woman, to fondle and suckle him. Her name was Pūtṇa. The divine child knew who the woman was, and wanted to give her a taste of his prowess. So he gave her such a huge bite while sucking her poisoned bosom, that the very pain made her give up her delusive form, and reveal herself the true giantess she was. The child still continued to suck, and literally sucked her very life out of her. The word *Pūtṇa* means a disease common to babes, while their mothers are yet confined, so Krishna must originally have been troubled by this disease and got over it. The other meaning of the word is a vulture. And in the *Mahabharata*, Shishupala, while deprecating before Bhishma the youthful adventures of Krishna, calls him a killer of vultures, a quite probable adventure, seeing that he had to tend cows in a jungle. The next step towards exaggeration is taken in the *Vishnu Purana*, where *Putṇā* is called "children-destroying," "very ferocious," "large-bodied," &c., but still a woman, a human being. The *Harivansha*, though preserving her entity as a human being, still endows her with the power of changing forms, because she comes to Krishna in the shape of a lovely woman. The last step is taken in the *Bhāgavata*, where she is represented as a ferocious and cruel giantess, with a body extending over six miles, with teeth like ploughshares, nostrils like mountain caves, and other parts of the body of equally imaginary dimensions.

KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI.

(To be continued.)

A SKETCH OF THE VEDĀNTA PHILOSOPHY.

READERS of Prof. Max Müller's "*India, What Can It Teach Us ?*" and other works, could not have failed to inquire for the moment what philosophy it was that sustained the late Sujna Gokulaji Zālā and Azam Gowrishankar Udeyshankar—two of the ablest ministers of Kathiawad—amidst the manifold cares and troubles of their high office. The late professor has himself, in his admirable "*Lectures on the Vedānta Philosophy*," given to the world the salient points of that system of thought, which moved Schopenhauer, in his well-known outburst, to style it the solace of his life, the solace of his death, and which has been exercising increasing fascination over the minds of European thinkers in general, and German thinkers in particular. To Mr. Manassukharama S. Tripathi, already well-known in Gujarat by his scholarly works, the most prominent of which are "*Astodaya*" (Rise and Fall), "*Sujna Gokulaji Zālānūn Jivanacharita*" (Biography of Sujna Gokulaji Zālā) and "*Vedānta Vichāra*" (Thoughts on the Vedānta), the English reading public are indebted for a very readable, thoughtful and scholarly exposition of the Vedānta Philosophy as expounded by the school of Sāṅkara Achārya. His work, styled "A Sketch of the Vedānta Philosophy," will doubtless supply the long-felt want of a masterly treatise on that philosophy from the pen of a born Indian.

The author's observations on the Vedānta are prefaced by a short account of the life of Sujna Gokulaji Zālā, late Minister of the Junagadh State, who was himself a typical Vedāntin. Born A.D. 1824 in Junagādh, with a silver spoon in his mouth, Gokulaji Zālā had early learnt the lessons of industry and studiousness at the feet of adversity brought on by the improvidence of his family. He increased the range of his knowledge, came in close contact with such personages as Anandji Achārya, Rāma Bāva, Jayakrishna Vyās, Gowrishankar Azā, and Sāmalādās, and contracted an insatiable thirst for the Vedānta Philosophy. Though dismissed from State service in 1853 by Mr. Anantji, the then Dewan, for preferring fidelity to flattery, Gokulaji

Zālā was taken up on the personal staff of the Nawāb Sāheḇ. His intelligence, independence and sterling integrity of character were of so high an order that his friends could not but predict his rise to the highest position in the State. The year 1861 saw Gokulaji Zālā minister of the Premier State of Kāthiawād. Dewan Gokulaji's administration was characterised by a rare combination of capability, straightforwardness and strength of character. His high position brought him wealth, his pure character brought him renown, and his attractive personality brought him a host of friends. But "amidst all this earthly prosperity Gokulajibhai's interest in the elevating Vedānta never slackened. The wordly prosperity he had acquired enabled him to devote his time and attention with greater ease to the sublime aim of his life." He, therefore, climbed the dizzy heights of the Vedānta, and revelled in speculations which, according to Prof. Max Müller, would turn the heads of many a modern statesman giddy.

A set of fortuitous circumstances combined to bring about the union of Gokulaji Zālā with his learned biographer. In 1867, Gokulaji first visited Bombay on State business, attended a meeting of the Buddhi Vardhak Sabhā—a potent movement of those times—heard a paper on "The Native States" read by Mr. Manassukharāma S. Tripāthi, then a rising scholar full of youthful enthusiasm, took a fancy to the author, looked upon the meeting as auspicious, in short, proved, during his life-time, Mr. Manassukharāma's "friend, guide and philosopher." To the chance meeting of the two literary notables in Bombay the Gujarāṭi public owe one of the standard biographies in that language, and the English-reading public a valuable exposition of the Vedānta Philosophy.

As a Minister, Gokulaji Zālā had to please not only the proverbial two but three masters—his own chief, his subjects, and the Political Agent. But notwithstanding his delicate position and the many inevitable differences of opinion with the Agency, Dewan Gokulaji won the golden opinions of all.

A change in the *personnel* of the Agency brought about fresh vicissitudes in Gokulaji's public career. His able advocacy of the cause of the Native States of Kāthiawād in the Grāssiās Question led to its honourable settlement in the interests of the States, and Colonel Anderson, the then Political Agent, whose attitude in the matter was hostile to the States, was prevailed upon by his satellites to construe the success of the States into his discomfiture. His wrath descended on Gokulaji, who was forced to retire from his office. But with Mr. Peile

(now Sir James Peile) as Political Agent, Gokulaji was reinstated into the Dewanship by the Nawab Saheb.

Gokulaji's conception of the duty of Government was ideal. "He believed in the truth of the principle that the end of Government is the happiness of the governed; that the ruler is for the people, not the people for the ruler; that the ruler must be the servant as well as the master of his people." As an administrator, Gokulaji tried his best to reach this ideal by undertaking the numerous beneficial and progressive measures which have enhanced the revenue and prestige of the Junagadh State, on the one hand, and the happiness and comfort of the people, on the other. Gokulaji Zālā had, nevertheless, moments of doubt and weakness from which even the best and bravest are not altogether free, but "he recovered from passing depression by recurring to such teachings of the Vedānta as, that the universe is wisely ordered by the Lord (*Iswara*); that every man (*Jiva*) is a part of it, and must conform to that order which he cannot change." A staunch advocate of all intellectual advancement, Gokulaji Zālā subordinated both social and political progress thereto. In all progress, his motto was to imitate the process of Nature, which is "to maintain uninterruptedly and in continuous action a portion of the useful old, that is already established and has been tried, reject a portion of what has grown too old and corrupt, and in its stead create and establish a portion that is new and useful, but not what only exists in speculation."

In 1877, Lord Lytton conferred on Gokulaji the title of Rāo Bahādur. But he was not destined long to enjoy that distinction. The year 1878 made all Junāgādh, Kāthiāwād and Gujarāt mourn the cessation of the earthly career of the able minister, the thorough gentleman, who appreciated everything good in human character, who had a kind word to say to all, whose bright face beamed with intelligence and genial good-will towards friends, who, surrounded by the pomp and circumstance of State, subordinated fame and fortune to philosophy, and who, throughout his life, lived more in blissful retirement than in the din and hubbub of the outer world. This is the noble soul whose biography forms a fitting introduction to Mr. Manassukharāma's "Sketch of the Vedānta Philosophy."

Coming to the Vedānta itself, Mr. Manassukharāma arouses interest in the subject by pointing out the importance and excellence of the philosophy, and the high value set on the Vedānta and the kindred system of thought, called Pantheism, by such thinkers as Schopenhauer, and Paul Deussen, Lewis and Gladstone.

The *triputi* of the Vedānta Philosophy corresponds to the Christian Trinity and consists in (i) the doctrine of Brahman, the absolute Being, (ii) the doctrine of Māyā or Jagat, the evolved universe, and (iii) the doctrine of Jiva, the soul. The Brahman, according to the Vedānta, is pure entity, pure thought and pure bliss, the one only, without a second. It can only be known intuitively. Though it is the root of all subjective and objective experience, no ransacking of the vocabulary of experience can adequately define it. The Vedānta, therefore, adopts the negative method of describing it by "*Neti, Neti*;" negating all qualities and saying "not so, not so."

Mr. Manassukharāma's exposition of Māyā is one of the soundest, fullest and clearest we have come across. Māyā is the principle of delusion, the self-feigning world-fiction, located in an infinitesimal portion—if portion it can be called—of the Absolute and Ineffable Brahman. "She is so eluding that, like the horizon, she appears and tempts, but is never to be caught. She is the type of uncertainty and change. She is incessantly and marvellously changing. She is the greatest riddle, and partakes both of existence and of non-existence. No sooner is the mind fixed on her than she appears quite different every instant and perpetually. She is capable of engendering any and all possible and impossible phenomena." All this is indeed beautifully and vividly expressed. Māyā is constituted of three qualities—goodness or purity, passion or activity and darkness or ignorance. The portion of Brahman that is reflected in the whole of her pure essence is styled *Iswara*, the Omniscient Lord, the originant of the phenomenal world. When the same Brahman is reflected in parts of the Māyā constituting its impure essence, called Nescience or the subjective ignorance of individuals, it is styled Jiva, the personal soul. Māyā may thus be regarded "both in parts and in the whole. Viewed in parts, she is the particular illusion that veils from each form of life its own true nature as the one and only self. Under her influence every kind of sentient being is said to identify itself, not with the self, that is one and the same in all, but with its counterfeit presentment (*Upādhi*). Māyā, regarded in the whole, is the *Upādhi*, adjunct of *Iswara*, the Lord; regarded in parts is *Upādhis*, adjuncts of individual souls. Thus every living thing is a fictitiously detached portion, an illusive emanation of Brahman." Under her influence are evolved Name and Form, which however, evanesce into thin air by the knowledge of the Brahman. Māyā is therefore said to be both *sat* (existing) and *asat* (non-existing)—the former, because she is all-in-all, prior to the knowledge of the

Vedānta, the latter, because she is nowhere after the knowledge of the Vedānta. A wooden elephant is an illustration in point. So long as the material is not known the beholders are subject to all the feelings engendered by the sight of a real elephant. But after the substance is known, the name and form of the elephant fly for ever. The products of Māyā have, therefore, according to the terminology of Kant, a physical or empirical existence, not a metaphysical or real one. The Vedānta is not principally concerned with a description of the course of evolution which Māyā takes. It leaves that to the minor sciences (*aparā vidyāḥ*), itself being the great philosophy (*parā vidyāḥ*), striking at the very root of worldly existence, and demonstrating the identity of Jiva, the embodied soul, with Siva, the unembodied absolute.

According to the Vedānta, Māyā has necessarily to be assumed to account for worldly phenomena: there is no going beyond Māyā. "As no natural philosopher, with all his pretensions to discoveries, busies himself with the attempt to discover the *cause* of attraction; so we must content ourselves, advancing to a certain point, with knowing that there is Māyā, that "thither man shall go, and no farther." In celestial physics (astronomy) and all terrestrial physics universal gravitation is a condition, so is Māyā the condition of all the phenomena of inorganised and organised bodies."

The Vedānta does not blow up matter, as is popularly supposed, but "corrects the popular idea of it." It only contends that the phenomena, name and form of it (matter) has no essence independent of mental perception, that (in this case) existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearances and sensations are illusory and would vanish nothing, if the divine energy, the higher Reality, the substratum which alone sustains them were suspended for a moment.

The never-ending conflicts between the egoistic and altruistic theories are for ever set at rest by the all-embracing Vedānta, which reconciles them to each other. Positing only one real and eternal substance, the Highest Self, and looking upon personal souls as merely delusive detachments from an absolute whole, the Vedānta leaves man no alternative but "to consider all the universe, including himself, as a portion eventually of *Iśvara* the Lord, the One Highest Self reflected in Māyā, and consequently to love and treat all not only as his *brothers* but as *himself*."

The third great, because practical, domain of the Vedānta—the *Jiva* or the individual soul—is treated of in the third chapter by Mr. Manassukharāma with conspicuous success. Though the pure Brahman

is reflected in every atom of matter, it is not every atom that is fitted to realise it. This is owing to the diversity in the manifestations of *Māyā*. Man, containing as he does a preponderance of *sattva* (goodness) over the other qualities of *Māyā*, is uniquely qualified to know the Brahman. It is given to the Vedānta to lay special emphasis on the curious phenomenon that, notwithstanding his natural aptitudes, "man, like the eye, is always ready to see and perceive all other outward things but takes no notice of himself within; that he often meddles with things beyond the reach of human capacity, but seldom sees into himself."

The Vedānta does not, at a stroke, promise salvation to aspirants by inculcating the great sentence "That thou art" embodying, in the words of Prof. Max Müller, "the boldest and truest synthesis in the whole history of philosophy," but requires them to acquire a host of qualifications. Hence the practical value of the Vedānta. The Vedānta student, prior to "Brahman inquisitiveness," is supposed to have properly discharged his duties in society, performed disinterested good actions, subjected the finite and the Infinite to the searching process of analysis, to have been fortified in renunciation, satisfied with internal peace, to have curbed his passions, refrained from worrying worldly activities, to have patience, faith, fixedness of attention, and no desire save the excusable one of final redemption. "When he is thus duly qualified, knowledge renders him worthy to receive the light, which shows that he has everything within himself, and that he is richer than heaven and earth." The dissociation of the soul from the body is not necessary for this enlightenment, technically called *Jīvanmukti* (life-liberation), nor are the life-liberated to attempt the impossible in renouncing every kind of activity. Mr. Manassukharāma portrays the *Jīvanmukta* faithfully and with great effect when he says: "The life-liberated, *Jīvanmukta*, seems to act and enjoy, but he is conscious all the time that it is not his self but his body, senses, &c., which do so. This is the result of the true knowledge. It gives him complete freedom and the highest bliss, and a kind of divine self-recollection. Everything else remains as it is. He believes that it is quite possible to take part, like Rāma, Janaka, Krishna, &c., in the practical work of life, and yet to maintain a perfect tranquillity of mind within, enjoying the divine Self-recollection. The *Jīvanmukta's* is a noble and sublime life. He lives surrounded by every object, and yet is absolutely indifferent to all. He moves through riches or poverty, through pleasure or pain, with equal contentment and serenity. The deepest joy derived from the true knowledge suffuses the whole of his nature."

As may be expected, Mr. Manassukharāma is sanguine about the survival of the Vedānta as the fittest of all religions and philosophies. It has "nothing to fear from research and progress of any kind, but, on the contrary, it will grow stronger and fuller with every advancement of true philosophy and sound science, remaining changeless amidst perpetual change, and exempt from all the influence of time and space and causality. It allows Science to supply all the premises on which its conclusions about the Universe are based. There is no religion, from fetichism to a most exalted one, that could or might be conceived, but comes under its wing. It is all-pervading and all-including.

The above extracts, rather copiously given, will suffice as specimens of the pleasing style in which the work is written, and show the various aspects under which the learned author has treated his subject. Besides its great intrinsic worth, Mr. Manassukharāma's work deserves praise for the numerous parallel ideas of Western thinkers embodied therein. Bacon and Balfour, Carlyle and Comte, Epictetus and Emerson, Gladstone and Goëthe, Hamilton and Hume, Hegel and Kant, Herschel and Spencer, Shakespeare and Tennyson, are all brought together to develop the central teaching of the Vedānta. The "Sketch of the Vedānta Philosophy" is one of the best books for a study of that sublime system of thought from an Indian standpoint. It is bound to occupy an honourable place in Vedāntic literature, and we shall not be surprised if its circulation in the West becomes wider than of most other treatises of the kind.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORM.*

THE melancholy thought forces itself upon the reader as he lays down this volume, namely, that such a publication should be at all necessary at the present day. A book expounding the advantages of foreign travel, the evils of infant marriage and early consummation, the miseries of enforced perpetual widowhood, the drawbacks arising from partitioning society into so many artificial berths, layers and strata, is a sad addition to Indian literature. But still there it is; the volume is not only necessary—but who knows how many more will be necessary before any appreciable change is made in any single direction? With this reflection we pass from the subject of the volume to the volume itself. The book before us sums up the Social Reform literature of a decade and a half, and falls into four parts:—(1) original papers; (2) Mr. Ranade's speeches; (3) the Presidential addresses of the Conference; and (4) Miscellaneous Papers. It is but appropriate that Mr. Ranade, whom the country had come to accept as the high priest of the movement, and who, in fact, gave it a shape, breathed life into it, and gathered for it a following; that this man who was so thoroughly identified with it should occupy a large place in the volume. His masterly review of each year's work for fourteen years, his large grasp of principles side by side with his wonderful hold on details, the patient manner in which he wove apparently distant facts and unconnected events into a harmonious history, the secret founts of hope that he loved to discover for his countrymen, the subdued passion with which he radiated from his central position the cheering rays of energy, and, above all, the enthusiasm that took possession of the hearers as the man with beaming countenance took his seat,—all this, although it can be preserved only in a very faint manner in printed pages, is preserved here for the guidance of Social Reform leaders.

* Being a collection of Essays, etc., edited by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Madras.

Among the original papers, Dr. Bhandarkar's on the Social History of India is a serene delineation of the subject, and will convince every thinking mind that there is more work for the country to do than is dreamt of by our exclusive political workers. Under the delightfully vague title of "Social Reform, a Statement," Mr. Anandacharlu wanders far and wide "with the purpose of suggesting to the average Hindu how best *he* could advance without giving up, or being set down as giving up, his orthodox status altogether and without violently breaking away from the fold to which he belongs if he wished to be an intelligent and useful member admissibly within it." What a round-about task even for the learned Mr. Charlu ! It is with great relief that we pass from his many words to Mr. Caine's few, who states the Temperance problem in India, in which India can do a great deal if it does what is so easy for it to do, to keep to its *mamool*—*total abstinence*. Mr. Dayaram Gidumal has no sweet words to offer. Like a true patriot, he makes deep incisions, and in exposing our sins against the Hindu woman lays the tragedy of seven acts quite bare. Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer makes a vigorous onset on the joint family system. Want of space prevents our more than naming the other essays which deal with the subjects of sub castes, remarriage, foreign travel, social purity and marriage reform. Ample justice has been done to these by the writers. May the country do them some small measure of justice at least ! Mr. Chintamani, the compiler of this useful volume, deserves well of the public.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The Indian Attitude Towards Wars.

The South African war is nearing a close. Throughout the troublous time the Colonies have rallied round the mother-country, and their services have been accepted. The Indian princes and the Indian people, however, were, for obvious reasons, told that they need not trouble themselves about a foe who has tried even the valour of the Anglo-Saxon so severely; and as there could be no doubt about the final issue, the war may be said to have been regarded by the natives of this country with only a little more concern than if it had been a struggle, say, between the United States and the Philippines. The lack of opportunity to participate in the military operations was undoubtedly one, and perhaps the principal, cause of the absence here of that anxious solicitude with which the varying fortunes of the somewhat too long course of events have been followed in other parts of the Empire. But that cannot be the whole truth. In England, and in other parts of the West also, a new cult, if we may so call it, has arisen, which regards war as a crime against humanity, and preaches that, although it may not always be possible to avoid bloodshed, the talk about military glory is a survival of barbarism. For all practical purposes, this may be said to be the modern Hindu cult. In ancient times, it was perhaps acknowledged that it was as legitimate on the part of a king to extend his dominions at the expense of his neighbours, as it was for an agriculturist to bring new land under cultivation. War was the Kshatriya's occupation, as agriculture or trade was the Vaishya's; and it made little difference whether it was undertaken for his own aggrandisement or for the protection of his subjects. With the growth of civilisation, and with the mingling of races, the temper of the Aryan race changed. The extermination of the Kshatriyas by Parasurama might or might not have been a historical fact, but it

was understood by the ancient philosophers of India as synchronising with the decay of the old militarism, and the rise of the Brahmanical power, which necessarily resulted in the placing of the ascetic temper on a higher footing than the military. The deepening of respect for asceticism culminated in the Buddhistic movement, and its effect in India could not have been very much different from what Fielding describes it to have been in Burma, when he says : " The law of the Buddha is against war—war of any kind at all—and there can be no exception. And so, every Burman who fought against us knew that he was sinning. Never could he, in his bivouac, look at the stars, and imagine that any power looked down in approbation of his deeds. No one fought for him. Our bayonets and lances were no keys to open to him the gates of paradise ; no monks could come and close his dying eyes with promises of rewards to come. He was sinning, and he must suffer long and terribly for this breach of the laws of righteousness. If such be the faith of the people, and if they believe their faith, it is a terrible handicap to them in any fight; it delivers them bound into the hands of the enemy." How can we love humanity and yet kill men ?—this was a question which pressed for a solution long ago in this country. The Divine Lay, preached on the field of Kurukshetra, amidst such dramatic surroundings, contains the best answer that India has given to the question, how war can be reconciled with love. Kill, said Krishna in effect, if duty leaves no other alternative, but do not kill with the desire of reaping any personal benefit for yourself—rather a difficult psychological feat, generally, but who has ever invented a more satisfactory method of reconciling the use of smokeless powder with the Sermon on the Mount ? The charter of the Kshatriya, that he alone may engage in war, remains in the books, but where is the Kshatriya ? The permission granted to fight, though with an important reservation, leaves ample scope, so far as the letter of Krishna's philosophy is concerned, to indulge one's martial aspirations ; but the spirit of it is against war. Fighting has for centuries been regarded in India as a mercenary occupation. Divested of its chivalric associations, it latterly became particularly odious, when war gave the signal for plunder.

But on, like a famine, the conquerors rolled,
And caskets of jewels, and jars full of gold,

And all that was goodly of copper and brass
They seized, and left iron to gladden the ass.
They stayed not to weigh or to measure their spoil,
They stripped off the grain from the sheaves on the soil ;
Not Chandi was safe, nor Ganpati the wise,
Nor Shiva, the ruler of destinies ;
His Pindi was broken, then who could expect
That the pots of the housewife a God would protect ?

So lamented once the wife of the Mahratta peasant. Who, then, could look upon war with approval ? The West is now troubled with those questionings which, centuries ago, led in India to the promulgation of the Gita. Mr. Chamberlain and ex-President Kruger alike aver that war became a duty with them. It is a view of life and its duties, which must long hold sway among mankind. How can the temper of the Indian philosopher be brought into conformity with it ? By accustoming him to active manly pursuits. He is learning to become a " flannelled fool," but something more is necessary. Let him be taught a little of that military drill which, it is proposed, should be introduced into every public school in England : and his heart may yet throb to the tune of ' God save the King,' and he may yet become an imperialist of the twentieth century. Whether it will lead to his own good or his country's, is another question.

CURRENT EVENTS.

WHEN Sir Edward Law predicted last year that the Government of India might, as regards finance, look forward to a period of increasing prosperity, he was charged with undue optimism. In presenting his Financial Statement, last month, to the Supreme Legislative Council, he availed himself of the opportunity to justify his optimism. The revised estimate for 1901-2 showed a surplus of £4,672,000—an increase, he pointed out, of £3,982,000 over the surplus anticipated last year. The largest item which contributed to this happy result on the side of income was an increase of the Railway receipts amounting to £1,750,500, and on the side of expenditure, a decrease of £1,006,000, consequent on the employment of some of the Indian troops in South Africa. From the great increase in railway traffic, and the brisk trade, dependent in great measure on exports of produce, Sir Edward Law argued that the yield of the soil must have been satisfactory, and from the increase in customs revenue,—especially in duties on cotton manufactures, silver, petroleum and sugar,—he inferred that the purchasing power of the masses of the community had appreciably increased. There may be as much justification for Sir Edward's faith in the growing prosperity of India as there is for the prevalent and audible sigh that India is steadily sinking from the effects of "bleeding" and of over-taxation. Yet it is not easy to follow some of the reasoning on either side. In private life, we always make a distinction between the purchasing power and the purchasing habit. It is a notorious belief in Native society that, owing to the inroad of new fashions and new ideas of convenience, we are spending more, in proportion to our income, than our fathers did. This cannot be forgotten when we argue that because we buy more cloth and more sugar, therefore we must be proportionately richer. On the other side, we are apt to forget that a growing feeling of unhappiness is perfectly consistent with increasing prosperity. Material prosperity, such as is indicated by the figures quoted by Sir Edward Law, represents the numerator of the fraction known as happiness, the denominator of which is pre-

sented not only by the ever multiplying population, but also by the increasing desire for higher comforts, stimulated by the sight of tempting articles and our introduction to alluring conveniences and expensive modes of life. It is a confusion between the subjective and the objective side of prosperity, that so largely promotes a divergence of views as to the effects of British rule in India.



The Budget debate gave Lord Curzon a suitable opportunity to point out, in his own manly style, the part played by India in the Imperial system. It was, said he, by the loan and prompt despatch of British troops from India that Natal was saved from being overrun by the Boers at the beginning of the South African campaign. It was an Indian General commanding Native troops from India that relieved the Legation at Peking. Besides the 13,200 British officers and men and the 9,000 Native followers sent to South Africa, and the 1,300 British officers and men, the 20,000 Native troops, and the 17,000 Native followers, sent to China, we have sent out from India a large supply of what may literally be called the sinews of war,—rounds of ammunition, projectiles and shells, tents, saddlery and helmets, blankets, boots and garments of various descriptions, fodder and rations. It is a legitimate question to ask, as indeed some of the Honourable Members did ask, whether the Indian army is not much too large for our requirements, if a portion of it can be lent for service abroad for a pretty long period, without any inconvenience. It is, however, not easy to answer the question, because it is not known how far the argument may be pressed. Could we not have lent more of our troops than we did? If so, how is the strength of the army to be fixed?



Lord Curzon seems to rule with a watch in his hand. He is allowed five years to carry out his programme, and we may be sure that in whatever position he may be placed, his programme will always be full. Time flies more rapidly with him than with men of fewer designs, and from month to month he must review the work already accomplished, and measure the work that yet remains to be done. One more Commission—and that to inquire into the administration of Police,—and he will have done with his Commissions. Will any good come out of them? It must take a long time for the reports of Commissions and Conferences, and the orders of Government thereon, to be precipitated into action, and who can tell what accidents may not befall the measures initiated or recommended in his time? His Excellency uttered a solemn warning that if any one should imagine that these Commissions

would end in their paper resolutions, he would find himself mistaken. Is there any inclination already betrayed anywhere to evade the mandates proceeding from so high a source? Wherever Lord Curzon thought that the machinery of the Supreme Government was not adequate to ensure steady and loyal co-operation on the part of the Local Government, he has strengthened the hands of the central Government. The appointment of a Director-General of Agriculture, another for Archæology, and a third for Education, provides so many safeguards against the different local Administrations pulling in different directions. All those recommendations of the Commissions, which are on the lines of least resistance, may be trusted to work out their fulfilment by their own intrinsic merits. But a scheme like that of establishing a co-operative system of rural credit will require the enthusiastic encouragement of a succession of Viceroy, as strenuous in their discharge of their high duties as Lord Curzon himself. Failing such men, the next best plan will no doubt be to make a special officer responsible for the introduction and the gradual extension of the scheme.



According to the final results published last month, the population of the Indian Empire, when the Census was taken last year, was 294,314,117 persons, 149,953,765 males, and 144,360,352 females. Is there any reason why there should be more women than men in Madras, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces, and more men than women in Bengal, Bombay Panjab and Burma?



If the East is jealous of her religion and social equilibrium, the West is jealous of her trade and her labour market. If China is anxious to shut out foreign devils, some of the English colonies are betraying no less anxiety to exclude Chinese devils. The motives in either case are analogous, but the exorcism is attempted in different ways and with different degrees of success. In the West you have laws, in the East you have rebellions :—the former may be enforced or not, according to the expediency of the hour; the latter proceed from a blindness of political vision which will involve China in deeper and deeper complications. The latest events, reported from that scene of conflict between the old and the new, seem to show that Chinese conservatism, like chinaware, prefers to break rather than to bend.



History will reckon the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes as one of the most active among the practical benefactors of the Anglo-Saxon

race. It matters little, in this age of strife and struggle, and of insatiable earth-hunger, how he won his success or what his success has cost others. His worst opponents will recognize in the future patron saint of South Africa a man of immense ideas, and of colossal energy and resourcefulness to carry out those ideas. Few Englishmen of the century have had such a striking career or a career crowned with such uniform prosperity. But the real crowning of Cecil Rhodes' life is the magnificent provision he has made for the higher education of the most promising youth of Great Britain, Germany and the United States.

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COOPERS HILL COLLEGE.

HISTORY IN SPEECHES.

Specially compiled for EAST & WEST.

THE answer to the question—should Coopers Hill College be abolished?—depends principally on what is intended to be done with the institution. To continue it in its present condition of suspended animation and with only two appointments to be competed for annually by Indian students would be a fraud on the Indian Exchequer. To abolish it after all the outlay on buildings, useless except for their present purpose, would be waste; and the sale of them might not recoup to the Indian Government the cost of the site—about one hundred and twenty acres—or the cost of the buildings. Some history of the college may be gathered from the speeches delivered by its Presidents and by Secretaries of State for India at the yearly public day of the college in July, when a portion of the students leave at the end of the course of study. The college was founded under the auspices of the Duke of Argyll; it is sufficient to say this to establish that the college was intended for the benefit of India and with a view to economy. I was recently surprised at not finding the Duke of Argyll's name among the names of those who have asserted the poverty of India, yet I have heard him assert in the most strenuous manner that India was a poor country, and that the Secretary of State and the India Office had to maintain a perpetual struggle with those offices, such as the War Office, which were always encroaching on the revenues of India. These sentiments were a sufficient guarantee that the founder of the college intended that it should be for the benefit of the people of India, and exclusively so. The establishment of the college was called for by repeated failures of the Public Works

Department, owing partly to the fact that the training of the Royal Engineers had been military, and directed more to fortifications than to the construction of railways, bridges, or barracks ; this college had also been called for by the increased need of engineering skill, and the enlarged area for its exercise. Yet Coopers Hill has failed to relieve the Public Works Department from the obloquy which has continued to fall on it, or to prevent railways being still constructed at right angles to the watershed with insufficient waterways, regardless of the injury caused by floods and consequent malaria. Let us see if the speeches delivered annually will throw any light on this. I must here remark that last year I was under a misapprehension as to these speeches, and in comparing them with those delivered by the E. I. Directors to the Haileybury students I undervalued them excessively. This must have been caused by the greater impression made by the speeches at the last annual meeting at Haileybury, at which I was present ; and also, perhaps, to my having read abridged reports of the Coopers Hill annual public days, in newspapers other than the *Times*. I have now had extracts made for me from the *Times*, most of which here follow, and show that the Secretaries of State, without exception, did all that was possible by exhortation to secure the benefits they had a right to expect from the college. I hope that these speeches of twenty-nine years may have a cumulative effect on the outgoing students, and also in reviving the college in its present depressed and dispirited condition. I might have used the transcripts made at the British Museum, but have preferred to copy myself all the speeches that follow, in order to impress them better on my mind.

FROM 1872 TO 1875 INCLUSIVE.

1872, July 27.—The Duke of Argyll, after alluding to the difficulty of obtaining thoroughly well-educated men to direct the public engineering works in India, and to the hopes with which this institution had been founded, said it was his agreeable duty to congratulate first Colonel Chesney, the president, and next the professors and the students for the marked success of the first session of the college. He thought it was impossible to have heard the reports which had been made without coming to the conclusion that so far as this experiment had gone it had been thoroughly successful. The examiners, whose report had been read, were entirely independent examiners, eminently qualified for the work, and reporting on the proficiency of students in whose education they had taken no part. . . .

He hoped he might also congratulate his colleagues of the India Council, some of whom were present, on the fulfilment thus far of the hopes they entertained for the institution. After some commendation of the students for the good character they had gained in the neighbourhood, the Duke distributed the prizes.

1873, July 25.—Mr. Grant Duff, in the absence of the Secretary of State, distributed the prizes. He regretted that there had been one or two failures in the recent examinations; such would be inevitable until it was thoroughly understood that there could be no relaxation in the high standard which had been set up. Five students had been pronounced qualified for the public service. Of these, two, Messrs. Benton and Hodson, had particularly distinguished themselves.

1874, July 31.—The Marquis of Salisbury said: "I am very glad to have the pleasure of being at this, I may say, first trial of the great experiment which was instituted by my predecessor. It was an institution which was thoroughly needed, it was wisely planned, and it appears to have been mostly successfully carried out; and I think we may now fairly congratulate ourselves that the foundation has been laid for one of the most important additions that can be made to the great fabric of the Indian Civil Service, and that it is an addition which promises to be not inferior in stability, or influence, or grandeur, to those older ones by the side of which it is placed." The speech deals largely with the profession of the civil engineer, in its bearing on material progress and the development of India.

1875, July 23.—Lord Salisbury expressed his satisfaction, and that of all those connected with the college, at the successful results of sending out Civil Servants from among Englishmen. . . . They had come to the new experiment set on foot by the Duke of Argyll. That was the application of competition in the first instance—not among a certain class of men, but among all classes in the country—the application of a college education to fit them for their work. The progress of the experiment was watched from year to year, and now they might confidently say that it promised a successful issue, and did the highest credit to the statesman by whom it was devised. All who had to consider the problem of furnishing servants of the Crown for the Government of India would be encouraged by the success of the scheme which had been set on foot by the Duke of Argyll. Something had been said about "crammers." He did not wish to join in any attack on a class of men most able and most reliable. They were men who had brought the greatest amount of assiduity to the whole of their task. Of course, he was glad to find that the ranks of that college could be recruited, he would not say without their assistance, but, at least, without relying wholly on their aid. . . . He had known the father of the gentleman who had taken the highest prize that day, and of the son he could only say that his great success was most creditable to him, and an augury of highest honour in the future. There were candidates in the college from good schools all over the country, and even from the Royal Navy. One gentleman who had distinguished himself that day had been educated at Calcutta. . . . He wished to mention an incident in connection with the first set of gentlemen

sent out to India. He had heard of them nothing but good, except this, that they thought all their exertions were over, and that they had nothing to do but repose on their laurels. The mind got to hate the knowledge which it had been made to acquire. Many men at college of the highest promise fell out from that cause, and nothing more was heard of them. It was the danger which accompanied the system of high-pressure education which was always encouraged, but of which all should be warned. Colonel Chesney had said that the standard set up would not be relaxed, but sometimes the contrary was the case, for they might go on setting up a standard higher and higher, and the brain would go on having to bear more and more, until at last it gave way. He would not, however, have the students of the college think they had reached that point. Hindustani, it had been said, opened up the path between the English and the natives of India; that was all very well, but not so to have an explosion of anger in Hindustani. . . . All who went out must remember that on them was imposed a vast responsibility.

“PAINTED SO ENTIRELY IN ROSE COLOUR.”

1876, July 21.—Lord Salisbury congratulated Colonel Chesney and those who worked with him on the success of the college . . . and also on the excellent understanding which prevailed between the governors and the governed, notwithstanding the severity of the labour required from the students. . . . He continued: “It is difficult to criticise, or even to comment, where the picture is painted so entirely in rose colour as it is in the reports of the examiners before me, and this, of course, is the more remarkable because the outside examiners, to whom Colonel Chesney referred, are not influenced by any motives of self-complacency in bringing in a better verdict than the circumstances deserve. In point of fact, as their function has been observed on, I should rather be inclined to say that their duty was like that of Her Majesty’s Opposition, to say as many unpleasant things as they consistently can. I have been looking through their reports to find something of that kind, and the only statement of that kind I can discover is that whereas very great proficiency is shown in the knowledge of Buddhist and Hindoo architecture, the same proficiency is not shown in estimating the value of bricks and mortar. Now, far be it from me to say a word indicating the faintest disrespect for Buddhist and Hindoo architecture, but in the relation to the Government of India in which I happen to stand, you will, perhaps, pardon me if I attach more importance than you seem to do to the excellence of estimates in architecture, because I attach importance to the exercise of that economy of which accurate estimates are the foundation.” The rest of the speech—a long one—is mainly concerned with the importance of economy in Indian finance, and in urging on the students going out to India the responsibility which rests on them, and their duty to seek to promote a better understanding between the Government services and the natives of India.

[This speech is important, as it shows that the examiners, as well as the Secretaries of State, kept a careful watch on the

students of Coopers Hill. It also shows that in all probability there had been cramming from Professor Ferguson's antiquarian works.]

1877, July 27.—Lord Salisbury made a speech which was in a great measure an echo of Colonel Chesney's address, congratulating the successful candidates, and urging them to look forward to a career of usefulness and industry in India.

1878, July 26.—Sir Louis Mallet, in the absence of Lord Cranbrook, complimented Colonel Chesney and his staff on the progress of the college during the past year. He impressed on the students two great objects before them—good conduct and honest work. They should endeavour to combine, as far as possible, intellectual culture with high moral principle. Those were the title-deeds of our administration in India. A speech was also delivered by Lord Napier of Magdala.

1879, July 25.—Lord Cranbrook addressed the students and told them there was no period of life in which they could cease to learn. He wished to say something with respect to the natives who would be associated with some of them. . . . "European civilisation was very different from Eastern civilisation, and with their education the students would have opportunities of impressing on the natives the high character which Englishmen ought to show in any country in which they were found. Far more was done by those men who, living among the natives, associated with them in such a way as to show that they took an interest in their welfare than by any legislation."

1880, July 22.—Lord Northbrook joined in the regret that Lord Hartington (the Secretary of State) was unable to be present. Referring to the work of the college he said that some degree of jealousy had been displayed by the natives of India at the idea of their sending young men of this class from England, but it had been the desire of the Government of India to employ the natives when it was possible. The expenditure of money on public works had been an enormous advantage to India. He continued with reference to public works in general—the Quetta Railway, and irrigation canals. Turning to architecture, "he thought that in this field it could not be said that Englishmen of the present day had shown pre-eminent skill. Much was to be learnt from Hindu, Mussulman, and even from Anglo-Indian architecture." Lord Northbrook gave some practical advice to the students, and finally encouraged them to persevere, as in India every man of ability had a chance of coming to the top.

CHANGES IN THE ORGANISATION OF THE COLLEGE.

1881, July 22.—Lord Hartington expressed his regret at not having been present last year when he might have been able to congratulate Colonel Chesney on the success of the college, which he had himself entirely organised and conducted with such excellent results for nine years. Though many of them regretted the retire-

ment of Colonel Chesney, he thought he might congratulate them on the successor (Sir A. Taylor), whose services they had been able to secure. " Simultaneously with a change in the president of that institution had occurred a change in its position and in relation to its future organisation. As had been stated by the President, it was the child of the Indian Government; it had been entirely dependent on India, and it had given back to India almost all the men it had drawn to that institution. Circumstances with which most of them were familiar had rendered it necessary to reduce the number of engineers to be sent out for this branch of the public service for some time to come, and it had been found necessary to make some changes in the organisation of the college. It was far from being an independent institution. The time might come when it would be independent of Government altogether. At all events, the college had taken a step this year in the direction of independence. It had now a board of visitors, among whom were some of the most distinguished engineers of the present day. . . . The college was now about to invite to its walls all comers, and designed to offer to the Kingdom at large, and the colonies and dependencies of the Empire, as well as to India, the opportunity for young men securing a training in that institution. It was too early to guess what the result might be, but he thought from what had occurred in the past that there might be good hope of the success of the institution in the wider sphere in which it was about to enter. He was informed that the Public Works Department of India were satisfied with the three hundred students who had been sent from this country to the East, and who had shown themselves able and useful public servants. He was glad to hear the president say that the reports received showed that the engineers with whom the students were now going through a practical course, were well satisfied with the acquirements the students had brought away with them from Coopers Hill. It must never be forgotten that if the demands of India on the resources of the college in the future were to be more limited, it was not on account of dissatisfaction with the men sent out, but because, for the present, the wants of the P.W.D. in India were not what they had been; but he hoped the change might operate not otherwise than favourably for the interests of the institution. In his candid utterance, while going through the reports, the president referred to the want of some degree of application and industry on the part of students of the first and second years. He (Lord Hartington) thought this might in some respect be due to the fact that there was hardly the stimulus of healthy competition while these students remained in the institution. He did not mean to say there were not sufficient examinations. After some words which had fallen from the president, he felt some wonder in which others might have shared, that the students had time for anything else but to be examined. What he meant was that the pupils who had been able to pass the qualifying examinations had made sure of appointments, and perhaps there had not been sufficient competition of a practical character. Now that the prizes

to be offered by the prospect of employment in India would be limited, they would see greater energy and assiduity displayed. It would be a source of great regret to him if the reduction in the number of Government appointments in India hereafter to be offered to the students should cause a cessation of the connection between the college and the Indian P.W.D. He should regret this on account of the college, as well as in regard to India and Indian interests." Lord Hartington added some words to encourage good feeling and courtesy on the part of European officers towards the people of India.

[In July, 1881, a teacher of Hindustani ceased to be employed at the college, and the last examination in Hindustani and Indian history was held in July, 1882. This was a greater breach with India and Indian interests than the opening of the college to all comers.]

TO THE END OF THE EIGHTIES.

1882, July 28.—Lord Enfield distributed the prizes in the absence of Lord Hartington. He said the report appeared to be everything that was satisfactory. The Secretary of State had sanctioned expenditure for suitable laboratories, a new class-room, and a specimen room with proper machinery. The ranks of the students were about to be increased by the removal to Coopers Hill from Nancy of half the students training there for Forestry in India. He concluded with exhortations to the students.

1883, July 27.—Lord Kimberley said he was struck by the importance of the college to India. He had no doubt that the change of throwing open the college would conduce to its usefulness and permanence. He was glad to see that two gentlemen who had distinguished themselves had come, one from Mauritius, the other from Australia. There was no part of the Empire where the services of the civil engineer were more needed than in the colonies. The president had said that he did not confine his view entirely to mental studies. Sympathising with this he would, however, warn those who were proficient in gymnastics not to neglect other pursuits. Our want, on the whole, of proficiency in the fine arts arose very much from all the best ability of the country being devoted to practical works. He went on to reflect on the extreme ugliness of the erections by which we are surrounded. He had been glad to hear from Lord Napier of Magdala (the Chairman of the Board of Visitors) that the financial prospects of the college were good, and that the number of students nearly equalled the accommodation.

1884, July 25.—Mr. Cross (the Under-Secretary) thought well of the changes in the college, he praised Mr. Preece, and said that the telegraphists he had sent out were known as "Preece's Lambs," and he hoped they would not deteriorate so as to become "Preece's Sheep." He dwelt on the importance of accounts, and said: "The India Office had much trouble in this respect, for works which had been estimated to cost three and a half lakhs of rupees, and give a

return, had cost seven lakhs, and would require more without giving as yet any return."

1886, July 28.—Lord Kimberley congratulated the President on the success of the college in the past year, on its growing prosperity, and that it was approaching the time when it would become self-paying. "There had been at one time a good deal of carping against the college on the ground that it imposed a burden on the resources of India. But that burden was not very heavy, inasmuch as the whole of the deficit which had to be made good out of the Indian Exchequer was only £1,764." A feature of great interest in the president's address was the announcement that students were now studying for the Forest Department in India. Owing to our having no large forests in this country, forestry students had to go to France and Germany for their education, but it was now hoped that we should be able to establish a school of forestry in this country. He again warned the students against neglecting their studies for gymnastics, and admonished them to treat the natives of India kindly.

1887, July 27.—No speech from the Secretary of State. The President, Sir A. Taylor, said at first the college had supplied recruits for the P. W. D. only, now it supplied the departments of forestry and telegraphy. The annual demand for recruits for P. W. D. stood at fifteen, for forestry ten, for telegraphy two. The work in the past year had been on the whole satisfactory. Mr. Currie (Vice-President of the Council of India) said he believed the success of the college to be due in a great measure to the services of Sir A. Taylor. It had been a source of satisfaction to the council to find that the college had become practically self-supporting. A sanatorium had been opened for cases of infectious disease. He wished to commemorate his functions that day by founding a scholarship. He proposed to transfer £1,000 in the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. to be applied as the president and members of the council should determine. He then admonished those students who were about to enter the Indian Civil Service as to their responsibility in their dealings with the natives.

1888, July 25.—The President, Sir A. Taylor, made his report, which was satisfactory. In September, 1882, the number of students was only ninety; it had increased last September to one hundred and thirty-nine. The income of the year fully covered the year's outlay. Lord Cross had authorised him to confer the Fellowship of the college on three students, Messrs. Clayton, Bell, and Dupuis. Sir John Fowler distributed the prizes; no report of his speech is given.

1889, July 24.—Lord Cross congratulated the college on its present state and on its becoming self-supporting. He spoke with approbation of their games. They were not taught only by book learning, but to observe and think for themselves. Most of them were going out to live in India; he envied them the career before them. He was glad they had at last got a school of forestry in England. He concluded with admonitions to those who were going to India as to their conduct and character. The President announced that Mr. E. G. Coutts had been appointed a Fellow of the College.

FROM 1890 TO 1895 INCLUSIVE.

1890, July 23.—Lord Cross was glad to find the numbers of the college were maintained, and that good work had been done in the past year. It was satisfactory to find that some students of the college had entered into the Royal Engineers, and others had gone to Ceylon. It gave him great pleasure to find that eight hundred acres had been made available for the study of forestry. Lord Cross also spoke with approbation of the students' proficiency at cricket and the river.

1891, July 29.—The President announced that the course of forestry had been lengthened to three years, and the initial pay of forestry students would in future be the same as that given to the engineer students. Sir John Gorst, the Under-Secretary, addressed the students in the absence of Lord Cross.

1892, July 27.—Lord Cross rejoiced that last year had been a good one, and spoke of the necessity of promoting canals and irrigation. He spoke of the development of the country by railways. After referring to several branches of college work, he spoke of the sports of the students, and asked the President to accept £5 for another athletic prize.

1893, July 28.—The President, Sir A. Taylor, said that, acting the recommendation of the College Board, Lord Kimberley had appointed Messrs. Coates and Stapleton, who were engineers, and Messrs. Billson and Abbey, who were foresters, Fellows of the College. These Fellowships were not granted to a fixed number at the head of the senior year, but only to a selected few. To the Department of Forestry it was due that the forests of India and Burma were now being carefully preserved and fostered, and producing income. The home of economic forestry was in Germany and France, and it had been the practice to devote three months of the last year to visits to the most suitable forests in Germany. These annual visits had now developed into a system of apprenticeship for five months, from April to September, and this year, second-year foresters had been apprenticed two by two to Prussian forest officers. Last year had been very good, both as to study and conduct. The number of students was one hundred and thirty-eight. About the scholarships a few words of explanation were needed. They were four in number. The first was that in natural science, for the best man in that branch at the end of his third year; this was a personal gift of Lord Kimberley, and this was the fourth occasion on which he had given this scholarship. The second was the foundation scholarship; it had been divided into two parts—the one for the best man in engineering at the end of his second year, and the other for the best man in the work of his first year taken as a whole. These two scholarships amounted to £30, and consisted of the annual interest of a sum subscribed by the engineers of the P. W. D. when the college was first established. The third was the scholarship in applied mechanics for the work of the second year—this was part of an endowment given six years ago by Mr. Currie, then Vice-President of the Council of India. The fourth was his own scholarship for the work of the first two years in mathematics. Last winter the health of the college had suffered much from influenza. Sir Alfred Lyall addressed the students in the absence

of Lord Kimberley. He enlarged on the importance of railway and irrigation works. He would remind his hearers that a first-class education was the basis and sure ground for future success in life, but they must take care that it did not stiffen or stereotype their ideas. Education should be a preparation for intelligent observation and experience.

1894, July 25.—The President, Sir A. Taylor, announced that four students had been appointed Fellows of the College. The top twelve of the engineers would begin their practical life by being apprenticed in Great Britain for the next twelve months in some of the most instructive and interesting works in this country. Last year ten forest students were apprenticed for over five months in Germany under Prussian officers, from whom the students received much kindness and attention, which they fully appreciated and profited by. He concluded by denying the truth of a taunt that natives of India did not know what gratitude meant; he had lived in the Punjab about thirty years, and found that ordinary kindness was fully remembered. Lord Reay, Under-Secretary, advised the engineers and foresters to endeavour to carry the people with them; the engineers could not execute any work satisfactorily unless they had the support of the native officials; the foresters would find among the people, even those who could not read and write, a most astounding knowledge of the nature of the forests. Lord Reay was glad the students had not had to learn Latin.

1895, July 31.—The President, Sir A. Taylor, expressed regret at the death in the past year of General Chesney, who had started the college in 1871. Lord Onslow, the Under-Secretary, addressed the students; the report of his speech is very scant.

“ITS CAREER HAD SURPASSED EXPECTATION.”

1896, July 29.—The President, Sir A. Taylor, said the college had had a satisfactory amount of success in the past, its twenty-fifth year. Thirty-five students were leaving and twenty-six of them were entering the Indian Service. Lord George Hamilton distributed the prizes; he expressed the hope that present success was only the prelude to future distinction for the students. There was one subject in which he regretted that proficiency was not so great as could be wished, and that was accounts. He would especially for their profession recommend careful attention to this prosaic but necessary branch of study. It was twenty-two years since he first came to the college; its career had surpassed expectation. Twenty-five years ago the financial and material position of India was not satisfactory. But it was not easy to make the Government realise that they could do anything in the matter. At last the Government took it in hand, and the college was founded, and the experiment had answered admirably. No branch of the Government expenditure in India had been more productive than public works. If, as was the case, those who had gone from the college had done honour to their training, it was largely due to the presidents of the college, Sir George Chesney and Sir A. Taylor. The present president was, to their great regret, retiring after fifty years' service, and sixteen years' labour in the college. The new president, Colonel Pennycuik, had been associated with one of the greatest engineering achievements in

India—the Periyar Waterworks in the Madras Presidency—and would worthily carry on the work of the college.

1897, July 28.—The President, Colonel Pennycuick, said at the beginning of last session there were one hundred and twenty-two students in residence; thirty-five were leaving that day, all of whom had obtained the college diploma. Of these, thirteen were going to P. W. D. as engineers, two to the accounts branch, two to the Traffic Department of the State Railways, three to telegraphs, five to Forests—twenty-five in all to Indian Government Service. Lord George Hamilton addressed the students on the importance in India of engineering. He spoke of the changes in communications which brought Englishmen nearer to England, and made India less their home. He concluded with admonitions as to their conduct. "They should recollect that they were dealing daily with people many of whose civilisations were far older than our own, who were deeply attached to their institutions, religious usages, and customs. Courtesy and conciliation were not signs of weakness, but, as a rule, were associated with reserve of strength and decision."

1898, July 27.—The President, Colonel Pennycuick, said there were one hundred and thirty-five students at the beginning of the session, five of whom had left during the year and thirty-nine were now leaving, all of whom, except four, received the college diploma. Of these, twelve entered the engineering, one the Accounts Department of P. W. D., one the Indian Railway Traffic Department, three the telegraphs, and seven the Forests, making twenty-four entering the Indian Service. The experience of the college falsified the opinion that work and sports interfered with one another. Lord Wenlock (in the absence of the Secretary of State) said he had, in Madras, been connected with their president for five years, and had there learned to value Colonel Pennycuick's high qualifications. He hoped he would long be spared to impart his own enthusiasm and zeal to the students. He was glad that half of the successful twenty-four students were going out to the engineering branch of the Public Works Department. He was glad to see the Forestry Department absorbing seven students. Great tact and skill would be required by those who joined the forestry, and their zeal would probably be cooled by the collector, who would have to consider the ideas of the natives who cared more for their cattle than for the forests. "The promotion to the chief engineering position under the Government of Madras of an old Coopers Hill man was an event on which the college was to be congratulated, and Mr. de Winton would doubtless maintain the high reputation which he had obtained. . . . It was particularly a matter of satisfaction that so many natives of India had taken advantage of the opportunities afforded them in this college, and had so greatly distinguished themselves."

THE MAGNITUDE OF THE WORK IN INDIA.

1899, July 26.—The President, Colonel Pennycuick, stated that the number of students in residence was one hundred and thirty-eight, of whom forty-nine were leaving, and all these except three had received the college diploma. Fifteen students were entering the engineers of

the Public Works Department, two the Indian State Railway Traffic Department, four the Telegraphs, and six the Forests, twenty-eight in all going into Indian Government Service. The Secretary of State had bestowed the fellowship of the college on Messrs. Field and Ahmed Ali in the engineers, and Mr. Dobrée in the Forestry. Sir Donald Stewart, in the absence of the Secretary of State, said he was glad to hear from the President a satisfactory account of the work done. "He was once an executive engineer himself, and he was a bad one. During the absence of a friend . . . he had to superintend great works at Lahore. . . . He had to do his best, and there was some trouble . . . and he was compelled to order a great deal of the work to be done over again . . . He also found the grossest discrepancies between the lists of men at work, and those who actually appeared, and an incredible carelessness in the matter of money. This experience enabled him to realise the magnitude of the work which the students were undertaking." He then referred to the forestry branch, and concluded: "Let the students shrink from no duty, however humdrum or disagreeable, and make the best of circumstances, however adverse, and ultimate success would be assured. Above all, it was necessary that Englishmen should recognise that there were as clever people in India as in England. Personally, he was deeply grateful for all that the natives of India had done for him. A good knowledge of the vernaculars, and a proper regard for prejudices, especially religious prejudices or beliefs, would help them to sympathise with the people and to understand them. . . . A famous engineer had just passed away—Sir Arthur Cotton—a man whose career was worthy of admiration and imitation."

1900, July 25.—The President, Colonel J. W. Ottley, R.E., said: This day closed the twenty-ninth session of the college, which opened last autumn with one hundred and thirty-nine students; of these, fifteen had received commissions in the Royal Artillery, eight others had left the college during the year, and thirty-three were now leaving. There were no candidates this year for either of the two account appointments offered. The closing numbers would be eighty-four, and as forty-four new students in the engineer and forestry branches were coming, next session would open with a hundred and twenty-eight students. He was not surprised that ex-students should have developed into good soldiers, as during the Tirah campaign he had under his orders two old Coopers Hill men. He advocated offering a couple of R. E. commissions annually, in addition, say, to half a dozen commissions in the Royal Garrison Artillery. The discipline of the college had been good. The training of telegraph students had been severely criticised by the authorities in India. Messrs. Reynolds and Pitman, the last two Directors-General, had communicated their views to the India Office, and to Sir William Preece, who had kindly consented to advise the college in the matter. Lord George Hamilton congratulated Colonel Ottley on his report, which disclosed healthy progress, and his deep personal interest in the college. He was glad to find that the athletics of the school were not neglected, at the same time he earnestly deprecated record breaking, or any undue strain. "The Anglo-Indian Empire was a unique construction of generations of statesmen. In

that work 'every native race had been called on to co-operate, and in endurance, and also in intellectual power and subtlety, some of the native races were our equals, and had, indeed, reached a high standard of civilisation when we were barbarians. Searching native criticism was brought to bear on Indian officials, and Europeans had occasionally misused the opportunities of their high position. Reciprocity, mutual goodwill, consideration for native fellow-subjects, should always and everywhere be practised, and then, and then only, would our rule in India be firmly and rightly secured.'

CONDEMNATION OF ABOLITION.

The foregoing extracts, from the *Times*, of speeches by successive Secretaries of State, based as they were on reports by the Presidents of the college, checked by independent and outside examiners, furnish a fair history of the college, and proof sufficient of the interest it excited in the minds of Secretaries of State and of the India Office ; and I think that all readers of these speeches will agree that there can be but one answer to the question—Should Coopers Hill College be abolished?—and that is a distinct negative : especially now that the college is self-supporting, and has made progress in its studies and in the number of its students. The dictum *Diruit, ædificat, mutat, &c.*, expressly condemns such abolition. What is to be done with it, has already been decided and acted on, and it only remains to give effect to the decisions taken in 1881, when Lord Hartington announced that the college had ceased to be a training school for the Indian Service, and that it had been thrown open to the Kingdom at large and to the colonies. In 1886 Lord Kimberley announced that the college would shortly pay its own expenses, and that the total deficit which India had had to pay for it was only £1,764. Lord Kimberley must have meant the deficit for the past year, because on the 13th of March Lord George Hamilton stated in the House of Commons that the total deficit from 1871 to 1901 amounted to £48,288, and that the cost of the site and buildings of the college, together with that of all subsequent additions to the buildings then existing, was £143,760, making a total of £192,048. This sum, therefore, would have to be defrayed by the British Exchequer. It would be too evidently unjust to charge India with the cost of the college and then to make use of it for other than Indian purposes, especially now that Lord George Hamilton had so reduced the

appointments of native Indian engineers ; and that in 1900 the President announced that fifteen students had received commissions in the Royal Artillery, and that the Indian Public Works Department had received so little benefit from the college, this for reasons which will be referred to later. To take over Coopers Hill College for the benefit of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, and for the benefit of the colonies, which bodies have already drawn recruits from the college, and not to refund its cost to the Indian Exchequer, would be felt in India as a greater injustice than that of charging India with the initial and annual cost of the India Office. The India Office no doubt costs, and has cost, India much more than Coopers Hill has done ; but, as the Marquis of Salisbury said in the House of Lords on February 18, 1893 : "You must not measure a financial injury by the number of thousand pounds involved. If people feel that their money is being taken from them, it matters very little whether it figures as thousands or tens of thousands."

"HAVE NEVER HAD FAIR PLAY."

It cannot be asserted with any appearance of truth that the college has had that beneficial effect on the Indian Public Works Department that its founders had a right to expect. The construction of the Bengal Railways, even of the most recent, and the consequent floods and malaria close to Calcutta, prove how defective the engineering has been. I believe the cause of this has been that the Coopers Hill men have never had fair play, and that they were kept down and kept out of all more responsible appointments by the Royal Engineers. This is shown by the statement of Lord Wenlock at Coopers Hill in 1898, that the college was to be congratulated on the promotion of an old Coopers Hill man, Mr. de Winton, to the chief engineering position under the Madras Government. This seems to be a very long time before a Coopers Hill man attained such a post. In 1886 the President, Sir A. Taylor, compared the training of the Royal Engineers with that of the Coopers Hill men : their preliminary education was not the same. The general drift of opinion was in favour of the Coopers Hill men, as far as regarded their preliminary training ; but, on the other hand, it was said that the Royal Engineers could, in consequence of their strict military training, be more fully relied on for carrying out their

orders. In some cases, such as insufficient outlets for rain water, remonstrance with headquarters might be better than military obedience. The author of "The Potter's Thumb" says in the commencement of that book—which is a good illustration of the action of the Public Works Department—"Dan Fitzgerald was not a *persona grata* at headquarters. To be that a subordinate officer often has to conceal his own talents, and this man could not even conceal his faults."

Mr. Iltadus Prichard, the author of "The Administration of India, 1858 to 1869," which, it was said at the time, Lord Mayo used to keep under his pillow, did not spare the Public Works Department in the "Chronicles of Budgepore," where he relates how the military engineers erected a barrack at a cost of £70,000 on a site which in the rainy season was so swampy that the Commander-in-Chief had to condemn it, and another barrack was built on a hill, while the unhealthy barrack was appropriated to the use of Government clerks.

THE COLLEGE CURRICULUM.

If any criticism on the speeches of the Secretaries of State given above were ventured on, it might be observed that with the exception of Lord Salisbury all of them seemed to lean too much to athletic games; Lord Kimberley and Lord George Hamilton both warned the students against any excess in that direction. It might be asked why Lord Reay expressed joy at the fact that Coopers Hill students had not been hampered by the study of any Latin. Lord Reay, as partly a Scotsman, should have known that before the Act of 1870 most Scots boys learnt Latin, and as William the Conqueror could read Julius Cæsar at the age of eight, Coopers Hill students might, before the age of fourteen or fifteen, with advantage have read Tacitus sufficiently to appreciate his brevity and concise phrases, and to have improved the style of the rest of the Indian Civil Service, whose excessive wordiness makes Indian official documents laborious reading for Englishmen. The speeches delivered at Coopers Hill also lead to the belief that the India Office is apt to estimate the value of the work done by the Public Works Department more by the money expended on their work than by the results of the work. The *Pioneer* of the 23rd of January gives an

example of what the Public Works Department can do when fettered by even less responsibility than the little which restrains it in Bengal. It says, in an article on the Berar question : " Costly as the whole Berar administration is, the most extravagant department is that of the Public Works Department. Contrasted with the whole Bombay presidency we find that, taking area for area, the Public Works Department in Berar cost exactly double that in Bombay. . . . Almost every possible necessity has been provided for in Berar, and then the money has been spent on luxuries, such as iron-girder bridges over nullahs which in British districts would be crossed by a causeway or an Irish bridge. In one instance an iron-girder has been built at a cost of several lakhs of rupees, which is of so little practical use that during the famine it was seriously recommended that a river-bed should be dug under the bridge, as a famine work, so as to facilitate the flow of the water."

UNSOLVED MYSTERIES.

Another question is raised by the collection of speeches by Secretaries of State : one at least of these speeches seems to disprove the maxim *Celum, non animum, mutant*, for Lord George Hamilton at Coopers Hill speaks as a lamb, and there you cannot recognise the speaker who in the House of Commons and in the India Office flouts famine deputations even when headed by an ex-Viceroy, and who scoffs at those who ask for inquiry into the cause of the increasing recurrence of famines. Lord George Hamilton rests his defence on the elements ; according to him, drought alone is responsible for famine, and abnormal rain (during twenty years) for the floods above Calcutta. He fails to see that he proves too much, since, excluding those who died of starvation and those who last year were drowned by the floods at Cossimpore, of all men the Secretary of State was the most interested in obtaining abundant rain in Central India and a moderate rainfall in Bengal ; but Providence declares against him in both places. England and Englishmen suffer also—in reputation—and suffer deservedly for tolerating such a Minister in an office of so great importance. Speaking near the India Office, the Secretary of State said or implied that the natives of India were savages or barbarians, but at Coopers Hill he was able to remember and to say that at a time when the inhabitants of

Britain were barbarians the Indians possessed a high civilisation. But there is another unsolved mystery concerning Lord George Hamilton's connection with Coopers Hill College, namely, the dismissal of seven professors, the vague accusations against them, together with the giving to each a solatium of a year's salary; the avoidance of giving any explanations or information as to these dismissals in the House of Commons; indeed, any attempt to visit

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Britain were barbarians the Indians possessed a high civilisation. But there is another unsolved mystery concerning Lord George Hamilton's connection with Coopers Hill College, namely, the dismissal of seven professors, the vague accusations against them, together with the giving to each a solatium of a year's salary ; the avoidance of giving any explanations or information as to these dismissals in the House of Commons ; indeed, any attempt to elicit some information was blocked in that House. Threats of abolishing the college were made, also imputations of failure on the part of the college, and of its being a burden on the resources of India, which were in disagreement with the reported speeches of Lord George Hamilton since his entry in 1895 into the India Office, and with President Sir A. Taylor's statement in 1888 that the college was then self-supporting. This conduct gave rise to suspicions with regard to the professors, the students, and the Secretary of State, and seemed to show that there had been a want of moral courage on the part of all concerned.

STANLEY.

THE EMPEROR OF INDIA.

*Yon King . . .
 Had princes sit, like stars, about his throne,
 And he the sun, for them to reverence;
 None that beheld him, but, like lesser lights,
 Did vail their crowns to his supremacy.*

Pericles, act ii. scene 3.

THE object of this paper is not to question or discuss the suitability of the title of our Sovereign in reference to the 300 millions of souls who go to form the Indian Empire which he has inherited. On the contrary, the suitability of the title is at once admitted, having regard to the present condition and the historical traditions of the country. It might be urged with reason that, without this title, our rule in India would be an anomaly. As long as the East India Company existed, it was careful to maintain the pageant of Empire at Delhi, and the power it acquired by means of its conquests was exercised in the Emperor's name as delegated authority. When the shadow of an Emperor disappeared after the mutiny of 1857, there was a break in the continuity of Empire, though not of rule, until the assumption by Queen Victoria of the title, and its proclamation at the Delhi assembly of 1877. During the hundred and seventy years that had passed since the death of the last Great Emperor of India, Aurangzebe, the conditions of the Empire had changed. Owing mainly to Aurangzebe's policy, most of the old independent kingdoms, Hindu and Mahomedan, had been destroyed, and their places taken by semi-independent Governors of Provinces, who, during the course of the 18th century, asserted their own independence, or who, like the Marathas, conquered it from the Emperor himself, and of these states, many had disappeared entirely. Of the Marathas themselves, only a few of the tributary states had survived. The great Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab had become British territory; the Kingdom of Tippu

in the south had been conquered, and a portion restored to a Hindu branch of the old ruling family, greatly shorn of its powers and independence; the Kingdom of Oudh had been created and also extinguished by us, and it may be truly said that in 1877 the Native States of India were ruled either by the descendants of those Princes who had been our allies from the commencement or by descendants of Princes whom we had created. Of our allies, about the only surviving ones were Hyderabad and Travancore. A few chiefs, such as those of Rajputana, had been subsequently admitted into the fold of subsidiary alliance. The conditions of the Empire had changed, but the Empire itself continued.

Before going any further, it may be as well to come to a distinct understanding as to the meaning of the words Emperor and Empire. In the course of time, the word Emperor has gone through various changes of meaning. Its very origin is a confession of weakness on the part of a democratic Government to deal with an important crisis. Originating with a people to whom the monarchical principle was abhorrent, it has gradually come to mean an autocratic ruler to whom kings are subordinate. At first, after the expulsion of the kings of Rome, the title seems to have belonged to every Magistrate who had received the *imperium* or the power of the sword and authority to command in war. Towards the end of the Roman republic, it became a special title of honour bestowed by a victorious army on their general, or by a vote of the senate for distinguished services. "Julius Cæsar, however, assumed it (under a vote of the senate) in a different sense, viz., as a permanent title, or rather as a part of his name (pro-nomen), denoting the absolute military power which had come into his hands, and it was given by the senate, in like manner, and with a like significance, to Augustus. Tiberius and Claudius refused it, but under their successors it soon became established as the regular official title of the monarch of the Roman world. When Greek became the sole language of the Eastern Roman Empire, *imperator* was rendered sometimes by *Basileus* and sometimes by *autocraton*, the former word being the usual designation of a sovereign, the latter especially denoting the despotic power which the *imperator* held." (*Encyc. Brit.*) During the course of time, a large number of kingdoms had been conquered and included within the limits of the Empire. In

many cases the kings of these conquered countries were left in undisturbed possession, but were subordinate to the Emperor at Rome or at Constantinople. In theory the German Emperors or Kaisers were the successors of the Cæsars, and the Holy Roman Empire consisted of a confederacy of states each ruled by a King or a Prince with sovereign powers. Such was the Holy Roman Empire which existed until 1806 when Francis II. of Hapsburg, Archduke of Austria and King of Hungary and Bohemia, resigned his imperial title and withdrew to the Government of his hereditary kingdoms and principalities under the title (assumed the year previously) of Emperor of Austria.

The French Empire passed through almost exactly the same phases, although in a much shorter time. The revolution of 1789 was a protest against the monarchical principle, but the republic had not long been in existence before one man emerged from the ruck and arrogated to himself the *imperium* or supreme command. From First Consul to Emperor was but a step, a repetition of the fate of the Triumvirate of Rome, and the first coins struck under the Emperor Napoleon bore the words "*Republique Française*" on the one side and "*Napoléon Empereur*" on the other. At first this Empire extended over France only, but when after *Austerlitz* and *Jena*, the ephemeral subordinate kingdoms of Naples, Italy, Holland and Westphalia were created, the old Roman Imperial system was complete, and as the word is defined in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the Emperor of France was the Chief of "*a confederation of states of which Kings were members.*"

The German Empire consists of 24 sovereign States, of which four are Kingdoms and the remainder, with rights more or less circumscribed according to size, are all represented in the Imperial Council. The United States of America constitute probably the most perfect model of an Empire. Each State is a sovereign one, and possesses complete independence as regards its constitution and laws, and is subordinate to the President only in matters affecting the Empire generally and Foreign policy. The confederation is one of sovereign states though not of sovereign rulers.

The term Emperor as applied to the Czar of Russia is a misnomer, and the word Autocrat is more correct. The vassal states and nations are not bound to their head by a constitution

as the word is generally understood, but are subject to his will only. The same may be said of Turkey and of China, and as regards Japan and Brazil, the word has little or no meaning.

In India, the use of the word Emperor dates from the time of Baber, previous to whom the Mahomedan rulers at Delhi were termed Sultans, and the independent Princes of the Deccan Kings or Shahs. Akbar's court resembled that of an Emperor more than any other, though even here there was no confederation among the vassal Kings, Hindu and Mahomedan. They were independent in their own states and were bound mainly by military service to their Imperial Chief. During the reign of Aurangzebe, the process of disintegration commenced, and the 18th century saw India in a state of chaos, in which various states were struggling for supreme power, all of whom professed allegiance to the nominal Emperor at Delhi, an allegiance, however, which none of them in reality paid. Gradually, out of this chaos the British power emerged supreme. In 1857 the existence of the nominal Emperor at Delhi came to an end, and it was not until 1877, or twenty years later, that the new Empire was constituted by the Delhi proclamation. The sovereign of England then became the Emperor of India. But, *quanto mutatus ab illo!* The independent sovereign states had almost all disappeared. There was still a large number of so-called independent states, but with few exceptions they were the remains of what had formerly been vassal kingdoms. The Nizam of Hyderabad and the Maharajah of Travancore were almost the only Native Princes left, with whom a hundred years previously we had treated on terms of equality. Sir William Lee Warner's book on the Protected Princes of India shows well the gradual change which has taken place and the different conditions under which the various states have been admitted or brought in the pale of the Indian Empire. He divides the history of British relations with the Native States into three periods: (1) the Ring-fence or non-intervention period which lasted up to 1813. During this period the Company was, as he remarks, barely struggling for existence. It was long before Dupleix's brilliant idea of forming an Indian Empire was assimilated by the cautious Directors. Even after the downfall of the French ascendancy, which commenced with the battle of Condor in 1758 (an

engagement the decisive character of which Colonel Malleon was the first to recognise) and ended with the battle of Wandiwash in 1761, the Company was reluctant to step into the place vacated by the French. Its ideas were confined to commerce only, and its treaties were confined to those powers which were likely to help or to oppose its commercial undertakings. Gradually, as it became necessary to interfere in the quarrels and wars of the different states, it was done on the system, inaugurated after the battle of Condor and the capture of Masulipatam, of receiving an assignment of territory in payment of an auxiliary force. The grant of the Bengal districts after Plassy had been mainly for commercial purposes, but the cession of the Northern Circars by the Nizam of Hyderabad introduced military responsibilities which led to far greater results. During the next period, from 1814 to the mutiny of 1857,

“larger schemes of Empire dawned upon its horizon, and
 “dominated the policy of its Governor-Generals. The exclu-
 “sion of any states from the protectorate has proved by
 “experience to be unpolitic and cowardly. Empire was forced
 “upon the British rulers of India, and the bitter fruits of a
 “policy of leaving the states unprotected were gathered in the
 “Pindari war, in the revival of schemes of conquest in the
 “minds of Maratha chiefs and in the humiliation of the
 “Rajput Houses. Surrounded on all sides by the country
 “princes, the Company's officers saw that no alternative
 “remained except annexation or a thorough political settlement
 “of the Empire step by step with the extension of their
 “direct rule. Without order on their frontier, peace in their
 “own territories was impossible, and the only prospect of
 “order amongst the native states was to undertake arbitra-
 “tion in all their disputes with each other and to deprive all
 “alike of the right to make war, or to enter into any unau-
 “thorised convention with each other. The policy of the
 “period was one of isolating the Native States and subordinat-
 “ing them to the political ascendancy of the British Power.
 “The expressions of ‘mutual alliance’ and ‘reciprocal agree-
 “ment’ are exchanged for the phrases ‘subordinate alliance,’
 “‘protection’ and ‘subordinate co-operation.’ But whilst the

“ states are deprived of all control over their external relations
“ the traditional policy of non-interference is still for a while
“ preserved in their internal affairs.”

They were left, to use Bismarck's phrase, “ to stew in their own juice,” and it was deemed inconsistent with their sovereign rights to introduce reforms by an outside agency. The result in too many cases was misgovernment and misrule, whilst the force of British arms prevented the people from having recourse to the only traditional remedy against tyrannous abuse of power—revolution and assassination. Then occurred the mutiny of 1857, which shook our Empire to its very foundations, and after its suppression commenced a new period, that of a *Union*. The growth of railways, canals, postal and telegraphic lines had brought the various states into closer connection with the British power. In the general march of progress they were forced to advance in line and could no longer be allowed to remain stationary or to mark time. The old treaties and agreements remained unaltered, and although the former penalty of annexation was relinquished, it came to be understood that personal misconduct involved a change of rulers. This was the condition of India when Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress at the Delhi Durbar of 1877.

And now arises the question. Do the conditions fulfill those of an ideal Empire—a confederation of states of which Kings are rulers? If they do not, in what way do they fall short, and would it be wise or expedient to make them conform more to that ideal?

At present it must be admitted that although our Indian Empire consists of a number of independent states with greater or less sovereign rights (Sir W. Lee Warner gives a list of 90 such states), there exists no confederation of states. Although the policy of isolation has been relinquished, the isolation of individual states and of their rulers still continues, each state is connected as it were by a separate thread with the central governing body, the Viceroy-in-Council, but there is no bond of cohesion, no connecting link, either of interest or of sympathy between the states themselves. Whatever is undertaken emanates first of all from the central authority, is communicated to the state or states concerned, and then stops. There is and can be no combined movement of a converse kind, of the states themselves, towards

the central authority. It can be easily understood that there was a time in the history of our relations with India when such a combination would have been undesirable, and would have been inconsistent with what Sir W. Lee Warner calls the policy of isolation. But now that we are in what the same author calls the period of Union, such a combination is surely desirable, and without it our Empire will certainly be wanting in that cohesion which is essential for its stability. Our motto in India should no longer be : *divide et impera*, but *union is strength*. At no time in the history of our relations with India has there been such a general feeling of loyalty towards the British rule as there is at present, and it may perhaps be safely said that that loyalty is more pronounced in Native states than it is in British territory. At all events, whether it is due to the comparative absence of the schoolmaster in Native states, or whatever else may be the cause, there are in them fewer instances of rabid reformers and frothy newspapers than are to be found in the large British centres. Lawrence Oliphant says somewhere that it is in our Christian states, where the schools are of no denomination, that anarchists and socialists are bred, who are, however, conspicuous by their absence in Islamic states where the Koran is taught in every school and venerated in every household. However this may be, there can be no doubt of the present feeling of loyalty towards the British Raj amongst the Native rulers, the result of their sense of security from foreign or domestic disturbances. There is no reason to suppose that a confederation or combination would be used against us, whilst there can be little doubt of the beneficial result it would have upon the states themselves. At present, the comparative isolation of the Native states has the effect of narrowing the horizon of their rulers. His own state and its comparatively small interests are all the world to the Native Prince, and he himself is the pivot upon which his little world revolves. Left to himself he has no friends or companions except his own servants and subjects, and the British Resident is about the only one with whom he can mix on terms of equality. The members of his own family are often the objects of jealousy and suspicion, and he spends a life of exalted but dreary isolation and loneliness. How, amidst such an entourage can he be expected to develop imperial ideas, or

sympathise with the wants and necessities of the Empire at large ? Two objections will probably be made. First, that his very ignorance incapacitates the ruler from taking an intelligent share in Imperial Councils, and secondly, that his traditional pride of birth would prevent him from meeting other princes on terms of equality. As regards the first objection, it is on a par with that of the man who declared that he would not enter the water until he knew how to swim, or like the objection made many years ago by the Collector of a Madras district, that he was opposed to the opening out of new roads, because there were no carts to convey the produce when the roads were made. The attempt must be made sooner or later, and the sooner it is commenced the sooner the desired result is likely to be attained. As regards the second objection, it must be at once admitted that all the states of India, independent though they may be, do not stand upon the same footing. Many of them are of no more political importance than are the large territorial possessions of European noblemen. But there are others which occupy a very different position, states like Hyderabad and Travancore, the alliance with which has always been on terms of equality; like Mysore, which though recreated by the British power a hundred years ago, in size and importance is second to none ; others again like Indore, Baroda, Bhopal, Odeypore, which have always been prominent in their loyalty and support, or like Kashmir and Nepaul, which are important from their geographical position, are surely worthy of being represented in an Imperial Council. I do not pretend to give an exhaustive list, nor would I presume to suggest how the thing is to be done. This must be left to the tact and ripe experience of men like Lord Curzon, in whom all would place the most implicit confidence, but it is surely not presumptuous to say that the principle should be admitted, and an attempt be made to associate the principal Native states in the Government of the Empire. Nor is it advocated that these states should at once have the voice and the power of the confederated states of the German Empire. This may come later; for the present what we want is a beginning.

Another objection might be made that the present viceregal council is already a representative one. And so it is in a certain way, of British India, but not of the class here alluded to. The

Native states are absolutely unrepresented on the Council. There are prominent citizens from the different Presidencies, chiefly lawyers; there are large landed proprietors; now and again a prominent merchant, but there are no Princes of the first rank who take a share in the Imperial Council.

The necessity of finding suitable and honourable employment for the members of noble families has been recognised by Lord Curzon, and the scheme of an Imperial Cadet Corps is a step in that direction, and one from which great results may be anticipated. But more must be done and the Princes must be made to feel the important part that they occupy in the machinery of the Empire.

But in order to bring about this result a change is required in the official attitude. It is no doubt flattering to the ordinary official, who, when he leaves India for good, is relegated to the comparative obscurity of a London suburban residence, to feel that whilst he is in India he can meet and treat with Sovereign Princes, not merely on terms of equality, but, as a representative of the supreme power, on a footing almost of superiority. It is something to belong to an Empire, the servants of which are able to grant receipts, as is said to have been done in the case of Thebaw, "for one King and three Queens"; but this attitude of superiority is scarcely likely to strengthen in the minds of Native Princes a proper sense of their own position and dignity. The Foreign Office and its subordinates have a way of administering a snub which at times must be keenly felt, especially by so sensitive and reserved a class of men as Indian Princes. Not a sign will be displayed that their equanimity is disturbed, but a slight is none the less felt. I will cite one instance. The Kingdom of Hyderabad contains some 100,000 square miles and about 12 millions of inhabitants. In the middle of the eighteenth century, its sovereign was the independent ruler of the whole of Southern India. He was nominally a vassal of the Emperor of Delhi, but was practically independent. In his various treaties with us he has always been met on terms of equality. It is one of the few states in India where there are recognised grades of nobility. The Nizam is absolute in his own Dominions, and besides subsidising a large British force has an army of his own. He is possessed of sovereign

rights which have been recognised by treaty and by the highest judicial authority in the British Empire. He has all the attributes of a King except the name. In an official letter to the Government of India, it became necessary to ask for the extension of the services of the English officer who had been lent as tutor and guardian to the Nizam's son "Prince Usman Ali." The official sanction was given, but at the same time a note was despatched by the Resident, pointing out that amongst other chiefs it was not usual to employ the word Prince in reference to members of their family, and requesting that this may not be done in future. A snub of this kind would seem to be entirely uncalled for. According to the strict etymological meaning of the word, the son of a ruling sovereign is a prince. It is the title accorded by courtesy to the sons of European ruling sovereigns, and it is difficult to understand why in an English letter, the usual courtesy phrase should not be used, unless it is that the Indian ruler occupies an inferior position. Amongst the 90 different Native states of India there are no doubt many of the chiefs who could not be considered entitled to this privilege, but in the case in point it is different, and in the correspondence and dealings with this particular state there is ample historical precedent for the use of the word. But apart from this, it is the "levelling down" principle which seems to be objectionable. The honour and dignity of the Emperor of India will certainly not be increased by lowering the dignity and the respect shown to those rulers who form the principal support of his throne, and without whom the title of Emperor would be a misnomer. If the native rulers are to have a proper sense of the duty they owe to and the position they should occupy in the Empire, this can be done only by increasing and not by belittling their dignity and importance. The Emperor of India will occupy a far higher and more distinguished position, if his throne is surrounded by sovereign princes, than if he is merely the autocratic ruler of irresponsible and petty chiefs.

King Edward VII. will be crowned Emperor of India at Delhi in January next. This will be the occasion for an outburst of loyalty such as India has never seen ; but has not the time come when this opportunity might be seized to reconstruct the Empire on a basis of confederation which would have the result of improving the status of the

various component parts, and of giving each ruler a voice and a share in the concerns of the Empire ? The details of such a scheme might be safely left to our present Viceroy. The writer of this paper has been in India for nearly forty years, and at no time during this period has there been a Viceroy in whom all classes put so confident a trust for an ability to rise above routine and tradition, for sound common sense and tact, and for a desire and capability to further the interests of the Empire and of its people. His wide experience gained from all parts of the world, and improved by his three years' rule in India, marks him as the man to carry through such a project with success. If time is needed to complete such a change, there is no reason why it should not be given to him. We had one illustration of the benefit that the possession of India can be to the Empire, in the prompt despatch of the troops that saved the position in Natal. This shows what can be done in the green leaf, but think for one moment of the possibilities of what could be done by a united and confederated Empire, bound by common interest and by a common tie of loyalty, composed of States, the rulers of which have a voice in the councils of the Empire ! One is tempted to repeat the words of John Bright in his celebrated speech on the dismemberment of America on the occasion of the "Trent" affair, with alterations to suit the altered conditions : "I should say that if a man had a great heart within him, he would look forward to the day, when from that point of land which is habitable nearest to the snows of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, the whole of that vast Peninsula might become one great confederation of States, with a united army for defence against foreign foes only, not mixing itself up in the entanglements of European politics, without a custom-house inside through the whole length and breadth of its territory, and with freedom everywhere, equality everywhere, peace everywhere. Such a confederation would afford at least some hope that man is not forsaken of Heaven, and that the future of the race may be better than the past." This, indeed, would be an Empire worthy of the name, and the Emperor of India would, in that position alone, rank amongst the highest of the world's potentates.

And now for a few words to sum up the gist of my proposal. Let the period which Sir W. Lee Warner calls the period of Union be

distinguished by a policy of complete, not half-hearted union. Give to the sovereign rulers of the states which form our Indian Empire, the rank, position and titles to which, as the chief props of the Empire, they are entitled. By raising their *izzat* or dignity, we shall increase that of their Emperor, by giving them a voice in the Imperial Council, we shall widen their own horizons, and they will the better learn that their own prosperity is bound up in the progress and prosperity of the whole Empire. It is by some made a matter of reproach that the chief interest which an Indian Prince takes in the affairs of the Empire is in the list of salutes, showing the number of guns to which he and other Princes are entitled. And if this were true, who is to blame except ourselves, who have deprived him of almost every other mark of his dignity and rank outside his own State? At present, if the Native Prince ventures to any large British centre, he is looked upon more or less as a kind of raree-show. A salute is fired on his arrival, he pays and receives an official visit which lasts about 15 minutes, another salute is fired when he leaves and that is about all the attention which is shown to him! Again, it is often said that even in his capital the Native Prince cares for little beyond the luxuries and pleasures of his own palace and *zénana*, and that he loves best to shut himself up with a case of champagne and a troupe of dancing girls. This charge is certainly not correct as a general one, but if it were true, who is mainly to blame? The Prince has no chance of taking a prominent share in the affairs of the world. The *Pax Britannica* prevents him from using his sword; the Imperial Council Chambers are filled with officials, lawyers and merchants; even in his own dominions, he is scarcely allowed a voice in the Government, and is provided with a Minister, sometimes against his own choice, who does the governing, whilst he has little more to do than to sign the decrees. Even when there is a large European community and garrison, the Native Prince is more or less hemmed in by etiquette, and isolated within his own narrow circle. British troops take no part or share in his own ceremonials or parades; his officers have no social rank, are not even eligible for election at the European club, and his very troops, the last outward and visible sign of his sovereignty, are looked down upon with contempt, as being armed with an old musket and not even, like

Falstaff's rabble, "food for powder," since no one would ever dream of making use of them. Amidst all this isolated grandeur, we have left the Prince one thing—we have left him wealth. What wonder if, in too many cases, he squanders that wealth on unworthy objects? Can we for a moment imagine that an English country gentleman, with, say, £10,000 a year, with an honourable public career, with the chance of mixing with all that is most intellectual in literature, art and science, with a field of amusements such as yachting, shooting and field sports, would exchange places with an Indian Prince who, though he may have a rent-roll of a million sterling, is doomed to live in the isolation I have described, with no friend or equal by his side, those who are nearest to him the objects of his suspicion, and surrounded only by flatterers, sycophants and place-hunters? During the last hundred years, the British Government has performed miracles towards the progress of the people and the prosperity of the country. We have introduced the blessings of peace, education, railways and of civilisation; but for the most part these benefits have been enjoyed by the masses. The higher classes, the aristocracy and the Princes, have been left severely alone. The consequence is that, although the people have been raised, the aristocracy and the Princely houses have been lowered. But the time has come when this policy should be altered. If there is too much power in the hands of the aristocracy, the people are oppressed: but, on the other hand, the bulwark against an overpowerful democracy lies in the upper classes. For centuries the people of India have been ground down. We are now running into the danger of the opposite extreme. And what is here pleaded for is but fair and just. The upper classes and the aristocracy of India require elevation and encouragement, as well as the masses. In both lineage and wealth, they are not inferior to the aristocracy of Europe. What they are wanting in is education and culture, and in this we can help them by giving them and their Princes the chance of a career and of a share in the Empire. Is it too much to look forward to a time when each State will be represented in the Government of this great country? When, actuated by one common interest, they will spend their surplus wealth, not on vain show and useless military display, but after contributing men and money towards a

common army of defence, they will spend their vast wealth in the development of the latent resources of the country, and, enjoying the substance of power, will no longer care for the shadow of shows and gilt gingerbread pageantry. Into the details of this great scheme it is needless to enter, but let once the principle be accepted, and the Princes, Chiefs and Nobles be given the real honour and power which is their due, safeguarded as you please, and you will find that the increase of responsibility will develop an intenser feeling of loyalty towards the Empire in general, with the result that the rule of the Emperor of India will be more glorious than that of any of his predecessors, whether Mahomedan or Hindu, for it will be over an united confederacy of States of which Kings are rulers, who are bound to him by unalterable ties of gratitude. The pinnacle is the topmost ornament of a stately building, and the higher it is, the further it will be seen and admired. Place the pinnacle on the level plain, and, however beautiful it may be, it will be only perceived from a limited distance. It is the same with a great ruler. The higher and the more splendid the pedestal by which his throne is supported, the more glorious it will be, and the kingship of his subjects will reflect additional splendour on his own Imperial crown.

This paper is headed by a quotation from Shakespeare, and I may be allowed to close it with another from the same play (act ii. scene 4). If the principle here advocated were adopted, the Emperor of India might well say that the princes of that Empire,

Like diamonds sit about his crown,

and that

When peers thus knit, a kingdom ever stands.

J. D. B. GRIBBLE.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN—A STUDY.

WHEN Keshub Chunder Sen passed away, Professor Max Müller wrote: "India has lost her greatest son." That is one way of describing a great man, not the best and safest way, I should think, for it is open to much unprofitable criticism. Directly one uses such a superlative the critic comes down upon him with a question or questions like the following: In what sense was he greatest? Was he greatest in intellect, or character, or in learning or wisdom? as a Social Reformer or a Religious Reformer? as a Philanthropist or a Patriot? Then the critic would name one as great as Keshub Chunder Sen, another greater than he, and the points he would raise against the assertion made would remain unsettled. Could these be settled to the satisfaction of both parties, I should perhaps have nothing to object to that way of describing a great man. But my aim being to study a great man with profit to myself and, it may be, to others, I take that which I find to be the better and safer way.

It has become almost a practice with me to read every year a fresh chapter out of my study of Keshub Chunder Sen's life, the occasions being furnished by the observance of his death-anniversary in Calcutta. On these occasions I usually take up some aspect of his character, which strikes me at the time as particularly interesting, and deal with it according to my lights. This year I intended to speak on his faith and experiences. Not having spoken on the subject, I have availed myself of the opportunity offered me in the pages of this magazine to change the title of my discourse and put my thoughts into such shape as I could give them here. By changing the title of my discourse, however, I have not changed my views, but only by giving it a general heading I have meant to invite readers to the special thing or things I have got to say.

Any thoughtful person, given to meditating on the relation between the outer and the inner world, must have been struck now and then with the changes wrought in the soul by changes in the atmosphere. Who has not experienced such changes, that has lived in a big city where the afternoon in winter days is full of dust and smoke and noise, and the midnight free of all smoke and dust and filled with a stillness which speaks not of time but of eternity? Whether the soul has colours like the colours of the sky, I do not know, but that it has moods which vary with variations in the weather, is a fact of which I believe we are all conscious. If such is the effect on the soul of what is seen with the eyes, similar is the effect on it of what is heard with the ear. Do not the different melodies of different hymns which vibrate on the ear call forth corresponding emotions in the soul? And if changes in the voice or the weather affect the soul, will not great men? On an impressionable heart they will tell differently according to the difference in their nature. Now, if we express our appreciation of a piece of good music by saying that we enjoyed it, and so also of something beautiful that we have seen, are great men only to be criticised and treated "with the jabber and suspicion of the streets"? Great men, if they are not enjoyed, first of all, are not understood, and all the so-called criticism of them is so much misunderstanding. Who cares for a great man who possesses nothing that draws one irresistibly to him even as a piece of good music does, or a beautiful sight in the sky?

"Taken up in any way," said Carlyle, "Great Men are profitable company." How different are the ways in which three such men as he, his friend Emerson, and our own Keshub deal with the subject of great men. Carlyle entitled his discourses: "On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History." Emerson entitled his discourses "Representative Men," while Keshub spoke on "Great Men." The last looked upon them as one of the three agencies of God's revelation of Himself to man. Emerson looked to their representative character and chose only such men as represented some class. Carlyle liked and loved the heroism that he found in them. These are different ways of looking at great men, but in whatever way we may choose to describe them, let us be sure that we feel their greatness, that they are something to us and that we can say ourselves what that something is.

Much of the value of modern scholarship and criticism lies in the help it offers to students to get at the meaning of words and phrases which, though current, have lost their original significance and are understood in a sense different from that which they had when they were first used. Buddha and *nrvāna* had long stood to scholars and others for atheist and annihilation ; Mahomet and *Islam* meant to them fanatic and quackery. But when Goethe said : " If this be *Islam* do we not all live in *Islam* ? " the eyes of men of culture were turned to the religion of Mahomet, and Carlyle's lecture on him opened men's eyes to facts and considerations to which they had been blinded by ignorance and prejudice. Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* and Dr. Paul Carns' *Gospel of Buddha* are cheering signs of the times. The latest contribution of Dr. Drummond to the *Journal of Theologic Studies* is, I learn, on " The Use and Meaning of the Phrase ' The Son of Man ' in the Synoptic Gospels." Though Europe has long professed Christianity, the religion of Christ is only now beginning to be understood. It is a significant fact that the first of Keshub's *Lectures in India* is headed : " Jesus Christ : Europe and Asia " and the last : " Asia's Message to Europe." Here are the last words in the first lecture : " May England and India, Europe and Asia, be indissolubly united in charity and love, and self-denying devotion to truth ! " In the last paragraph in the last lecture, the same sentiment, in a slightly altered form, appears again : " I am proud to regard myself as a loyal subject of Queen Victoria, and I rejoice to see under her triumphant banner the union of India and England, of the East and the West." Towards that union no man in Europe laboured with greater zeal than the late Professor Max Müller, and in India none more than he of whom when he died Professor Max Müller said : " India has lost her greatest son."

" Have you remarked," says Rahel, " that Homer, whenever he speaks of the water, is always great, as Goethe is, when he speaks of the stars ? " Great men are not great always, but they are always great when they do what they are impelled to do and say what they are impelled to say. Keshub was great as a man of faith, great when inspired—in his extempore orations and devotions—not great otherwise, not great as a scholar, or a theologian, a man of business or an educationist, a philanthropist or even as a social or

a religious reformer, but great in that without which philanthropy, scholarship and theology, education, business, social and religious reform are nothing. He was a man with "a faith like that of Christ's in the infinitude of man," essentially a new man in a new age, not possible at an earlier or a later date.

This faith distinguished him from what was not great in him and distinguished him from men of his country and his age. I should like to describe the quality of this faith in Dr. Martineau's words rather than in my own. Referring to the peculiar friendship between St. Paul and Timothy, he says: "The secret of this deep affection between the aged apostle and the young disciple is to be found in a quality common to them both, which made Timothy wise beyond the measure of his youth and Paul fresh against the tendencies of age—that energy of *faith* which, from its wondrous conquests over our lower nature, is by many regarded as *supernatural*. By *faith* I do not mean their common belief in Christ and devotion to his cause. I do not refer to any agreement of their intellect in relation to the propositions of a creed; but to a certain quality of heart and character, so rare to find in these days that it is scarcely possible to explain. He calls it an 'unfeigned' faith, and takes it as the mark of transparency and simplicity of soul. He treats it, not as an apostolic gift, but as flowing down in the maternal succession, from the gracious heart of Eunice and the blessing of the good grandmother Lois, ere yet there was any Christ to believe in. It was, therefore, an attribute that might pass across the line from nature into grace, that could descend in the track of hereditary religion, and link a faithful family to heaven. Nothing so marks the degradation of our modern Christianity as the notion that *faith* is only *opinion*—that a man may have it or not without affecting his moral worth—that it is the result of intellectual accident or opportunity, for which God will never call him to account. It is, on the contrary, beyond all comparison, the most complete and distinct exponent of a man's character; and if only we can get to know it, he is revealed to us more clearly than if the whole catalogue of his actions were given us to read. Matters of historical theology, no doubt—critical questions about the authorship of books and the authority of councils—may be differently judged by inquirers of the same

spiritual grade. But it is not so with the deep essence of religion ; and the view which we may take of our moral relations, of the life here and hereafter, of the ruling laws of this universe, of the being and character of God—is the direct product of the radical affections of our nature, and will be false or true simply as these affections are mean or noble. Our devout beliefs are not built, as we suppose, upon the dry strand of reason, but ride upon the flood of our affections ; safe and joyous, bounding over its waves, when its surface only plays with the sweet breeze of heaven ; but engulfed, when it rages in the storm of passion, or fixed in stiff death, when its flow is stopped, by the winter of an Arctic intellect. We do not simply learn from experience what we are to think ; but we carry into experience feelings and preconceptions by which we read and interpret experience. Faith is the natural hypothesis of a pure and good heart, whence it looks on the face of nature and of life, and deciphers and welcomes their diviner lineaments. Want of faith is the hypothesis of a low and unaspiring heart which feels the presumption to be *against* whatever is high and glorious, and gives the benefit of every doubt to the side of the flat and mean. In some men there is surely a visible openness of impression to what is excellent and noble in character—a readiness to believe in goodness—a willingness to take for granted that all is right till proof arises of something wrong—a manifest assurance that at the bottom of all things lie the foundations of eternal truth and holiness, so that whatever is faithfully and lovingly done has God and nature, and, therefore, hope and promise on its side. This presumption in favour of all beauty and sanctity in human life, and in the universe, is *faith*. It has a *moral* character, because it implies a personal knowledge of the higher principles and affections of our nature as able to rule the lower : they have been listened to as oracles : they have vindicated themselves as realities : they have submitted to no fatal insult, but have kept upon their lawful throne. No man can believe in a rule over creation which is powerless over himself : or see in other souls a goodness traceless in his own."

I should err greatly myself and give my readers almost a wrong impression if I were to say that the above words describe Keshub's faith fully. If I have learnt anything from modern criticism it is this, that the same words and phrases are used by different men in different

senses. When Spinoza is described as "a God-inebriated man," should one, knowing something of Chaitanya and nothing of Spinoza, jump to the conclusion that Spinoza was another Chaitanya, he would sooner or later find out his error. For, as Matthew Arnold has pointed out, "Spinoza's earnest assertions that the love of God is man's *summum bonum* do not remove the fundamental diversity between his doctrine and the Hebrew and Christian doctrines. By the love of God he does not mean the same thing which the Hebrew and Christian religions mean by the love of God." Had Matthew Arnold known of the Vaishnavas doctrine of the love of God, he would have spoken of the difference between that and the three others he had studied. The word Lord used by the orthodox Christian and the new orthodox Theist differs in its application. The Christian applies it to Christ, the Theist to God. General Gordon was a man of faith, George Muller was a man of faith. But they were Christian men of faith, believing in Christ as God and in the Bible as infallible. If I have described Keshub as a man of faith, let me say that I emphasise both the words. He was not only a man of *faith* but a *man* of faith; not a religious reformer, if that means that he belonged to any existing religion; not a social reformer, if by that is meant that he wanted to effect changes in the social customs of his country by ideas borrowed from other countries; nor a philanthropist; nor a learned man, nor a man of letters; nor an educationist, nor a wealthy man, nor any of these things, but a man, first of all, a man of faith possible only at the time he appeared, not earlier nor later, a new man in a new age, as I have said. And if I have described the quality of faith in Martineau's words, let me also describe the character of the new man in Emerson's:

"The new man must feel that he is new, and has not come into the world mortgaged to the opinions and usages of Europe, and Asia, and Egypt. The sense of spiritual independence is like the lovely varnish of the dew, whereby the old, hard, peaked earth, and its old self-same productions, are made new every morning, and shining with the last touch of the artist's hand. A false humility, a complaisance to reigning schools, or to the wisdom of antiquity, must not defraud me of supreme possession of this hour. If any person have less love of liberty, and less jealousy to guard his integrity, shall he therefore dictate to you and me? Say to such doctors, we are

thankful to you as we are to history, to the pyramids and the authors; but now our day is come; we have been born out of the eternal silence; and now will we live—live for ourselves—not as the pall-bearers of a funeral, but as the upholders and creators of our age."

This newness of the new man, this freshness, spontaneity, belongs to men of genius of the highest order; among poets Goethe and Shakespeare had it; among founders of religion Christ and Buddha had it. Should one like to study it in Keshub he would find in those sermons on the principles of his life entitled *Jeevan Veda* a plea for it. These sermons, let me say, are an invaluable help to all students of his life. A word may also be put in here regarding the vehicle often used by him in conveying his thoughts to large and mixed audiences here and in England—I mean, the English language. Though all the characteristics of the man appear in his English lectures in England or in India, his sentiments are conveyed through a veil, as it were, in them. But coming out of his heart, his words go direct to the hearts of those whose mother tongue is Bengali. From beginning to end the *Jeevan Veda* speaks of spontaneity as the chief characteristic of the man. If it was the habit of prayer that he formed it was a spontaneous prayerfulness; if it was the sense of sin, it was no arithmetical calculation, but a sense of sin at the sight of sin; if it was enthusiasm it was a spontaneous enthusiasm; if it was asceticism, a spirit of unworldliness, it was not forced but natural; and so on, of whatever he had or acquired.

It is interesting to study this spontaneity in his lectures, sermons and prayers. If carefully read they will bear out the truth of what has been said above. In them the reader will find the spontaneity closely allied to the faith of which I have spoken; the two go together or, rightly speaking, are different aspects of the same thing. Indeed, without that faith Keshub could not have delivered extempore those lectures which established his reputation as the greatest orator of modern India and one of the greatest the world ever had. Here again the superlative used is misleading if it leads any one to think that he was an orator like other famous orators. Though wrong in his attempt to belittle his genius, Babu Ram Chunder Bose was right when he said that Keshub's orations should not be compared with those of men like Gladstone and Bright. Gladstone and Bright were trained orators, let me say.

They prepared their speeches carefully, after models they liked best. They conformed to rules of oratory and were conventional at best. Keshub was the most unconventional of men. Look at the titles of his subjects and at the manner in which he dealt with them. "Behold the Light of Heaven in India," "Philosophy and Madness in Religion," "Am I an Inspired Prophet?" "Asia's Message to Europe" are some which readily come to mind; and as to the manner of dealing with them, let any one read only the opening paragraphs, and he will bear me out. Then, as to the quality of his orations; read them as literary performances, and they lack literary qualities; read them as rhetorical effusions, and you will find they do not conform to rhetorical rules; study them as productions of art, there is very little of art in them. But take them up in a mood of prayer and faith, and you will find every sentence full of truth. Read them as the utterances of a sincere soul, of a man of faith, of a man with an open mind, a seeing heart, and they will yield to you meanings and suggestions which will lead you "to the divine sources, out of which all this, and much more, readily springs." Their practical value is in the strengthening of faith and hope, in the deepening of love and enthusiasm. Keshub himself knew better than any one else what sort of eloquence he had. "I never learnt elocution," said he. "I have a wild uncultured sort of eloquence, which means only emotion. If I am excited, I can speak. I am sure to break down hopelessly if I attempt to speak when my feelings are not properly roused. I am all impulse. When I am once excited, you will hear burning words. I will then speak with power, and I will certainly crush into atoms the most impregnable strongholds of error." His sermons in Bengali, and especially those in the *Jeevan Veda* have the same value which his lectures in English have. Many of his prayers have been published after his death from reports taken at the time they were offered. There is nothing, in Bengali or any other literature that I know of, like those "sallies of the soul into the unfound infinite," which Keshub's prayers are. Perhaps it will be more correct to describe them as colloquies of the soul with God.

Profusely illustrated as is the spontaneity, of which I have spoken, by his prayers, sermons and lectures, it will, if looked into more closely, show us the virtue that is hidden in it without which

it cannot last long, the virtue, namely, of what for want of a better name I should call *whole-heartedness* as opposed to half-heartedness. Directly we come to perceive that, the value of the lectures is enhanced, and we begin to feel that there is no vice like half-heartedness. A man who speaks out of the fulness of his heart must also believe what he believes with his whole heart and do what he does with his whole heart. If not, he will feel the ground on which his spontaneity was based giving way, and he will find that he has lost it when he has ceased to be whole-hearted. Keshub, it would seem, was less spontaneous at the beginning than at the end of his career. His earliest sermons in Bengali, as well as the opening lectures in *Lectures in India*, show that he was not quite in his element then, had to conform to established rules, was a bit conventional, perhaps. One is reminded of the difference between Carlyle's earlier and later compositions, between his translations from the German, his *Life of Schiller* and his *Sartor Resartus*, his *Latter-day Pamphlets*. Keshub, when he found himself out, as it were, became more and more himself, conscious of the new and original character of the work he had to do, surrendered himself more and more willingly to the guidance of the spirit which led him he knew not whither. His spontaneity increased, and with it his whole-heartedness, and his last lectures and sermons and prayers are so full of them that, if read by us without having in ourselves those qualities, they will be misread, and all their beauty and power altogether missed.

For the sake of my English readers I have described the quality of faith in the words of Dr. Martineau. I may now as well put in a few words of my own on the matter. We often hear of faith being contrasted with sight. What is the difference between the two? Let me answer that the difference is like that between the finite and the infinite, between the limited and the unlimited. Faith is belief in God: it dives into something which can neither be fathomed nor measured, something higher and deeper and broader than itself; hence it partakes of the nature of that into which it dives and that is infinite. Light, on the contrary, limits itself to itself; it does not venture to go beyond itself. Is faith, then, blind, and sight seeing? Yes, it is, in one sense; it is contented with seeing one step forward. Sight, on the contrary, wants to see all the steps. But more deeply

looked into, faith will appear as something more than sight. What we call sight is the mind wanting to know, understand and see all things, and it sees nothing; sees only the surface of things, though it may boast of seeing many things. Faith, on the contrary, concentrating itself on one thing, the thing needful for itself, sees many things though it cannot boast of seeing them. Faith means obedience to what is higher than itself, willingness to surrender itself, the readiness to venture into unknown paths when the call comes. Light can do no such thing. And yet faith is true sight; it is deeper than sight; it is insight. It is blind in one sense, in the sense that it trusts God—God who is unknown and infinite—and does not trust itself. "It has been very appropriately defined," says Keshub, "to be the evidence of things not seen, and the substance of things hoped for. What the eye is to things visible, what reason is to things demonstrable, that is faith to the invisible realities of the spirit world." He thought that for his country's regeneration this faith was the one thing needful. "Do but enkindle that," said he, "in the hearts of a dozen earnest men of the community, and though they be poor and ragged, carpenters or fishermen, their influence will spread irresistibly on all around, and thousands will catch the holy fire of their enthusiasm, and be converted to new life. Thus from a small band of devoted men of faith, the Kingdom of God gradually extends over a whole race, yea, over many nations and generations, and the tide of reformation rolls on, though there be neither political influence, nor physical power nor earthly wisdom to further its movements. History offers numerous testimonies to the truth of this, and illustrates the mighty and pervading effects of faith in bringing about national regeneration. If, then, faith has wrought wonders elsewhere, and saved dying and dead nations, why shall we doubt its efficacy in regenerating this country? Why shall we seek to reform India by giving her merely the material blessings and the superficial refinement of modern civilisation? Countrymen, if you are really in earnest about India's redemption, I exhort you to seek nothing but faith. Try to have that, primarily for yourselves alone, and as a natural, inevitable consequence, your faith will reproduce itself in thousands and millions of your countrymen. And whether you seek faith for your own or your country's benefit also, seek it with singleness of heart."

Here let me pause and ask my readers if they have got into the spiritual atmosphere in which Keshub lived, moved and had his being. Faith, spontaneity and whole-heartedness are but different words to express his attitude to that atmosphere. And what I have said and what I have quoted have been done in order to prepare my readers to enter that. Or, have we travelled together so far without getting to understand each other? To describe one who is not a philosopher in the language of philosophy, or one who is a poet in the language of the lawyer, or one who is a man of faith in the language of the doubter, is not only difficult, but, though often done, wrong. I felt the difficulty when reading a paper on General Gordon. Instead of describing him in my words I found it more honest to describe him in his own words. I had, therefore, to make use of extracts from his letters and journals. I remember that my friends objected that the extracts were so numerous. But I did not see then any way out of the difficulty. I believe most criticisms suffer from the disparity there exists between the critic and the person criticised. The language of a man of faith when he describes himself or some experience of his is the language of inspiration, and if it may not please the literary critic, contains truth which the critic would do well to ponder and try, if possible, to get into the true meaning of. By reading a criticism we get the critic's view of the man criticised, not God's view of him, and God's view can be known when the man sees himself in the light of God. I have known few critics who have tried to know that. Speaking for myself, let me say that I have found many master minds, for instance, men like Hegel, Browning and Tennyson, to be all Greek to me till I could get into the atmosphere in which the poems and speculations of those men had their rise. I believe, without doing so, no man can understand another man, far less can we understand great men. Every great man read in an uninspired mood, in a spirit of indifference or, in what is called a critical spirit, will be found wearisome. So have I found Keshub and Carlyle, St. Paul and Christ. But once get into the right mood, and the words, actions and motives of the great man will appeal to you with a strange emphasis; they will seem to you to be your own words, actions and motives in the better moments of your life, moments when you think rightly, act nobly, live deeply. Studies of great men are often made by men not great, or men smaller than

they, and these characterise the students more than the great men themselves. Now these studies, which take up a great deal of our time, are often unprofitable and delude us into the belief that we have understood the great men. They often lead us not to, but away from, the men themselves, and when we study them for ourselves, through their own words and actions, we are surprised at the circuitous way we had travelled to get at them. Then we think that we had not known them at all, that we had known only their critics and biographers. But those studies are also useful and necessary ; we cannot do without them. They are like roads which lead us to a beautiful place, to a wide river, to the seaside, to a spot on the Himalayas where we find ourselves in the presence of eternal, infinite and ever-living Nature, and feel ourselves at home. Here we find the great men each a "piece of that Nature," and great because they are so. Small men are not so. The roads we pass through may or may not be pleasant, they may beguile us into fancying that there is nothing better beyond. But when we reach the sea-beach or the top of the mountain we forget our experiences on the road, we do not think much of the road then, for we are in the pure atmosphere of God and can breathe freely. When we are thus led into the presence of the great men, into the very atmosphere in which they breathed when they lived and worked, we can drop those "studies" and commune with the originals. And what a joy in that ! We feel we are with our own, men who can understand us and whom we can understand. We grow so easily and rapidly in their company, grow and bear fruit. "A fig tree looking on a fig tree becomes fruitful."

Some examples may be cited to illustrate what I have said. The Upanishads are easier to understand than the philosophy of the Vedanta ; in the former the poetry and philosophy are one, in the latter they are separated, and the philosophy studied by itself. Buddha's parables and conversations have all the simplicity and beauty, the insight and common sense of the master, but the commentaries and speculations of the followers are so different and difficult to understand. So with the teachings of Christ. Though they have come to us through reports, translated and retranslated, one could at once detect the difference between them and the words of the narrators of his life. St. John's view of him, and St. Paul's are

interesting as theirs, but the words of Christ have a beauty and simplicity, a power and authority which St. John, with all his love, and St. Paul, with all his faith, lacked. One would be tempted to think that it was altogether a different atmosphere into which one was transferred from the one to the other. Among modern men Hegel is thought by many as a hard nut to crack. The expositions of Dr. Stirling, the brothers Caird, of Messrs. Green and Wallace and others as distinguished as these, are good in their way, but one sometimes feels that Hegel himself is easier to understand than those expositions. He has the qualities of a great thinker. Froude's *Life of Carlyle* is a good book, not that it gives us the best and right view of Carlyle, but that it gives us Froude's view, and it is not altogether the right view; nay, to him who appreciates Carlyle rightly it expresses the heaviness of Froude's mind and oppresses him. What a relief for him to repair to the original and read Carlyle through Carlyle! Of Keshub, after Mr. Mozoomdar's biography in English, a voluminous biography in Bengali was undertaken by Pandit Gour Govindo Roy with the help of others. Nine volumes of this have already come out and a few more will complete it. They are interesting studies of the biographers—both these biographies. But what a difference between the power of Keshub's own words and that of his biographers! Both the biographers have executed their tasks well, though each in his own way. Mr. Mozoomdar's is a study, which characterises him, of Keshub's life and teachings. These he has undertaken to interpret to the public at large, and till a better book comes out his will be considered the standard biography of Keshub in English. The value of Pandit Gour Govindo Roy's book is of a different kind. Lacking the literary grace of Mr. Mozoomdar, or of the earlier biographer in Bengali, Rev. Troyluckynath Sanyal, he has amply made up for the deficiency by his fidelity to facts, letting his hero's own words and actions speak for themselves. The patience with which he has worked among dusty volumes of old newspapers, and the faithfulness with which he has searched out of them words and documents throwing light on important matters, have contributed largely towards making his book an invaluable one. It will be so prized by all students of Keshub's life. But all these biographies of Keshub take us a great way off from him. Good in themselves, they do not seek but hinder us from direct

communion with him. It is easier to understand his own words, so full of simple truth, of true faith, of faithful love; it is easier to understand these than the expositions of his friends. And wading through those expositions is sometimes a wearisome business. It is like going through deserts of sand till one comes to an oasis. Such oases are the words of the great man himself.

But, "to be great," said Emerson, "is to be misunderstood Has he light?—he must bear witness to the light, and always outrun that sympathy which gives him such keen satisfaction, by his fidelity to new revelations of the incessant soul. He must hate father and mother, wife and child. Has he all that the world loves and admires and covets?—he must cast behind him their admiration, and afflict them by faithfulness to his truth, and become a byword and a hissing." Faith, spontaneity, whole-heartedness—he who has these must not be like other men. And who are these "other men"? The majority of mankind. Shall I describe them in the words of those who knew them well? "Mankind," said Franklin, "are dastardly." "There are in the British Isles," said her latest Prophet, "thirty millions of people, mostly fools." Keshub, let me say, had not a more flattering idea of men. "Early in life I had the conviction that they are worthless." In his lecture "Am I an Inspired Prophet?" while saying that he was not a prophet, he said also, "I am not as ordinary men are, and I say this deliberately." What was he, then? "If I am not a prophet, then what am I?" asks he, and answers: "I am a singular man." Now what was this singularity? "I was destined to be a man of faith," said he, and it was the singularity of the man of faith, of the new man in a new age I have spoken of. Speaking of his earlier days, he said: "I believed in a singularly jealous Divinity in those days, and I still cling to a singular Theism." "This singular faith in a singularly jealous God of heaven brought me day and day nearer to Him and further and further from worldliness." He should have added, not from worldliness only, but from that which is its embodiment, the world, namely, the characteristic of which is that prudence which, according to him, is "the arithmetic of fools." And it is curious how almost every sentence which he had written, in his earlier days, in the little book, *True Faith*—written, let me say, with the blood of his heart—how every sentence which expressed in

a short and pithy way his deepest inward experience, some guiding principle of his character, was illustrated in his latter and last days by outward events in his life. It was as if the inward ideals were outwardly realised, as if the deep, unconscious prayers of the man were answered. "The secret of the world," said the same wise man, quoted at the beginning of this paragraph, "is the tie between person and event. Person makes event, and event person."

"The soul contains the event that shall befall it, for the event is only the actualisation of its thoughts; and what we pray to ourselves for is always granted. The event is the print of your form. It fits you like your skin." I have now arrived at the most interesting part of my present study, and though I have already made my paper long I must not omit to say a few words on those events in which one could detect the print of Keshub's form.

"Had he died ten years ago he would have been honoured as a prophet"—to this effect wrote some one when Keshub died. And if one wrote like that, thousands thought like that and still think like that. It only tells us of the impression in men's minds of the difference between the earlier and the later days of Keshub Chunder Sen. To say that the impression is wrong would be saying nothing; to say that it shows how very shallow critics usually are would be saying little; what I want to say is that it is fatal, in all senses of that word, to those who are still haunted by it—that the sooner they are freed from it the better for them and for others. It has done Keshub no harm; it can do him no harm. But it has done much harm to those who have had it, and it will do more. "Had he died ten years ago he would have been honoured as a prophet." Yes, but it would have been an empty honour, such honour as is the less thought of and the less sought for, the better. It is not my purpose here to say a word more about that. What I ought to say is that if Keshub had died ten years earlier we would have lost the best lectures in *Lectures in India*, the best sermons in the several volumes published, and especially those included in the book *Jeevan Veda*, of the value of which I have already spoken; we would have lost all the eleven small volumes of prayers published after his death and of the use of which I may have to say a word before I conclude; we would have lost the *Nava Samhita*, of which I shall say nothing here, as it was the subject of one of my former papers

not printed ; we would have lost two of the finest chapters in Rev. Troyluckyonath's and Mr. Mozoomdar's biographies, I mean, the chapters on Keshub's illness and death ; we would have lost all this and much more, and become the poorer for it. Had Keshub Chunder Sen died ten years earlier we would have mourned the aspiring youth but not the perfected man.

Keshub paid the penalty for being great ; he was misunderstood. It is said that his language was misunderstood. I do not think so. No man's language is more unmistakable than Keshub's. It was the man who was misunderstood, first of all, and then all that he said or did. Should not every man know that he is what *he is* and not what others think or say of him or wish him to be. The most transparent sincerity was that of Keshub Chunder Sen. His extempore utterances are a study in sincerity. In them it seems as if "the Maker of all things and all persons stood behind him and cast his dread omniscience through him" over what he said. But Keshub was the most misunderstood of all men. Why ? Because what people call sincerity is often a shallowness, a light-heartedness and nothing else ; it is not the sincerity which reaches the depths of a man's soul and comes out of depths. Such sincerity was Keshub's. And how could he be understood ? He knew that he was what *he was*, and not what people thought of him, or his dearest friends. And when people found that he contradicted them they were offended. It was natural, nay inevitable, that he should be misunderstood.

(To be continued.)

PROMOTHO LOLL SEN.

THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY.

IT would serve no useful purpose to trace the history of the controversy which raged in the thirties between the supporters of Oriental learning, on the one hand, and the advocates of English education, on the other. This discussion was set at rest in favour of the latter by Lord Macaulay's celebrated minute, which was adopted by Lord William Bentinck's Government in its Resolution of March 1835. It was decided that English education was the superior medium of instruction; that instruction through the Vernacular would be far more confined and less effectual; that English alone was the key which would open a world of new ideas and new thoughts, and that, in addition, it would have the desirable effect of assimilating the English and the Indians, of enabling the English to look into the conduct and details of public business much more expeditiously and effectively. The Panjab was at this time under the *régime* of Maharaja, Ranjit Singh. When, after the troubles of the Mutiny the attention of Government was drawn to the education of the people of the new Province, two Colleges were established in 1864—one at Lahore, and the other at Delhi. The first Principal of the Lahore College was Dr. G. W. Leitner, who had before his appointment served as Interpreter in the Crimean War, and held the office of Assistant Teacher of Arabic in King's College, London. In 1865 he founded the Anjuman-i-Panjab with the object of reviving the study of ancient Oriental learning and of diffusing useful knowledge through the medium of the Vernaculars. He put no mask on his dislike of English education, but whilst he was powerless to stop its advance, he insidiously broke its back by urging that national feeling and the requirements of the country had been completely ignored under the system of State education that prevailed, and that

indigenous educational seminaries had perished. To a strong personality, a great capacity for winning over weak and indolent men to his view of things, unceasing industry and application to the cause which he had embraced, Dr. Leitner combined great influence with the executive authorities ; and when he appeared time after time with well-dressed Raisas as his followers, and urged his views as theirs, the ramparts of opposition were overthrown and the path was made clear for him. The movement for an Oriental University was started with the object of arresting the progressive state of decay in Oriental languages and to create a Vernacular literature. He strongly urged that the number of learned Maulavis and Pandits, then existing, was very limited, and the circle of learning, even among those who still devoted themselves to it, considerably contracted, and he aimed at the revival of letters by giving encouragement in stipends and scholarships to members of literary families—thus giving an incentive to study and literary exertions. Sir Donald McLeod, who was then the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, did not go quite as far as Dr. Leitner. He thought that with the extension of English education, the facilities for transfusing into the languages of the country the knowledge, literature and science of the West had practically increased, but that unless some specific action were taken and some really-effective stimulus applied, the process would be slow. He, therefore, advocated the diffusion of useful knowledge through the medium of the Vernacular by encouraging the translation of works of literature and science—in short, to create and extend a Vernacular literature. It was not his intention, nor that of Sir Charles Aitchison, Mr. Arthur Brandreth and other English administrators of the time, who helped in the foundation and success of the movement, to establish a seminary which would help to load the minds of young men with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to the community. They aimed at something very different. To use the words of Sir Donald : “What is aimed at is to promote the study of Oriental languages in a systematic, enlightened and critical manner. Proficiency in Arabic or Sanskrit combined with a *thorough* acquaintance with English shall be a *necessary* condition for obtaining the highest honours of the Institution.” And, again, “without a large admixture and infusion of European literature and science with Oriental studies the object in

view will not be attained." So that what Sir Donald and the English Committee advocated was the revival of ancient learning and the perfection of the Vernaculars, not at the expense of an English education, but with it, and, as it were, under its auspices, enabling the latter to cure the imperfections and deficiencies of the former. It was in pursuance of these views that the Government of India sanctioned the establishment of the Lahore University College; and the main objects of the College were specified to be—

- (1) To promote the diffusion of European science, as far as possible, through the medium of the Vernacular languages of the Panjab, and the improvement and extension of Vernacular literature generally;
- (2) To afford encouragement to the *enlightened* study of Eastern classical languages and literature; and
- (3) To associate the learned and influential classes of the Province with the officers of Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education.

While these were the special objects of the institution, it was at the same time declared that every encouragement would be afforded to the study of the English language and literature; and in all subjects which could not be completely taught in the Vernacular, the English language would be regarded as the medium of instruction and examination. In pursuance of these views, the Panjab University College entered upon its existence. As a College it was allowed to grant diplomas and certificates, but not degrees. The theory underlying the foundation of the Institution was good, but the small educated class that then existed in the Province looked with grave misgivings on the utility of the proposal, and doubted whether it would be rightly worked. It was felt by them that the study of the classical languages, though valuable for the rich stores of information contained in their literature, was really a check on the diffusion of knowledge—real, practical, useful knowledge—which the nations of Europe had carried to a degree of perfection that had raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world. They were of opinion that India could not be raised by inducing young men to consume a dozen years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of grammar or the recondite doctrines of metaphysics. They were for discouraging such frivolous learning

which had the effect of keeping the people in ignorance of real knowledge. Being, however, in a small minority, they thought it was hopeless to press their sentiments on the notice of Government.

Under these circumstances, with the ostensible object of teaching the Oriental languages upon *modern principles*, the Oriental College was established in 1870. When the Lahore University College was incorporated as a University in 1882, its distinguishing object, as compared with the older Universities, was declared to be, that it was to be a teaching body, and not merely an examining one. Its teaching functions are confined to the Oriental College and the Law School. Let us now examine what has been done during the last thirty-two years—more than a generation in the life of a people—to realise the hopes and aspirations of its founders in this distinguishing matter.

It must not be forgotten that Lahore was at no time in the history of Oriental literature one of the places famous for its Pandits or Maulavis. It did not possess the renown of Benares in Sanskrit learning, nor had it ever enjoyed the fame of Delhi, Deoband or Agra in Arabic scholarship. It was, however, hoped that, being the capital of the Province, people from all parts would be attracted to it. To a certain extent this has proved true. Students have come, but simply because the means of subsistence have been placed within their reach. The College established here is *ironically* called the *Rotial* College, because students resort to it for their *roti*, and unlike Arts Colleges, which are resorted to for the sake of the learning that is imparted in them, and where students pay high fees for that learning, the Oriental College is filled with pupils who attend it because handsome stipends are offered and no fees exacted. The nominal fees which are shown in the accounts consist of small amounts, which are deducted from the monthly stipends paid to the students. During the last thirty-two years the Oriental College has swallowed about twelve lakhs of rupees. With what results?

- (1) Has it been successful in furthering a critical and systematic study of the classical languages? Have new methods of teaching—new facilities for acquisition of knowledge—been devised or suggested?
- (2) Has the College sent out *alumni* in the Indian world, who have secured a name and fame by their linguis-

tic acquirements; who have shed lustre on their *Alma Mater*; who are looked up to with respect and esteem by teachers in indigenous institutions in towns in Upper India?

- (3) Have the students of this College shown that they have usefully employed their time by writing original works showing research in the domain of Oriental studies or even valuable *compilations*?
- (4) Have any efforts been made to translate works of European science and literature into the Vernacular?
- (5) Have the successful students distinguished themselves in any sphere of life? Have the teachers proved that they are capable of giving such instruction as would be useful to their pupils in after life, as would rectify and improve their habits and morals, acquaint them with the known truths of nature and science, and engender in them nobility of principles and elevation of ideas?
- (6) Have they shown any scholarly activity at all, beyond serving as Masters in Anglo-Vernacular Schools?
- (7) Has the College been successful in instilling in the minds of the Panjabis a desire to pursue Oriental knowledge in the same way and to the same extent as Arts Colleges do, and have done, with regard to English education, *without the bribe of stipends and scholarships*? (The fact is that out of 72 students in the College, over 50 receive handsome stipends, and more than half of those in the school are supported by bounty. It is thus manifest that a very large number attend this Institution because they find their bread provided for them on easy terms. The policy of feeding these hungry mouths seems to be very questionable. As regards the proficiency and learning of the students of this College, one remark may be made by way of example—that, notwithstanding the fact that the Institution has been in existence for thirty-two years, yet whenever the office of Head Pandit or Head Maulavi has fallen

vacant, the authorities have been compelled to go outside in search of a suitable teacher. The Institution itself has failed to supply the requisition.)

I have put a number of questions *supra*, and it is by answers to them that the utility and existence of the Oriental College can be justified. I say, without fear of contradiction, that the answers to all the questions must be in the negative; and as far as my information goes, I am in a position to say that there is very little to show for the large outlay that has been made. In point of fact the income that is made from Arts Examinations has been, in times past, and is now, devoted to keeping and maintaining this useless Institution. The University starves its examiners, or gives small doles to them; is unable, for want of funds, to do anything by way of patronising Vernacular literature; is perfectly helpless in the matter of rewarding authors; and, generally, has not done anything to create and extend a Vernacular literature. As regards the thorough worthlessness of the College, one test will suffice. Stop the stipends and scholarships, the bribes and the bounties, and to-morrow the students will cease to attend, the benches will be found empty and the teachers without students, and the teachers themselves will fail to find livelihood elsewhere.

This is the evil. What is the remedy? What was aimed at was the *enlightened* study of Oriental languages after modern methods. This can only be available to students who have a thorough acquaintance with English. Only graduates in Arts having the advantage of sitting at the feet of English Professors in Languages, Science and Arts are competent to extend and improve the Vernaculars and to critically study Oriental languages. All our efforts should be directed towards encouraging them, and not this ignorant and beggarly class that now pampers on money rightfully belonging to others and of which they are robbed. I say that it is only graduates in Arts that can do anything useful. It is they only that are competent to discriminate and propagate the science of the West among the people, that can take a prominent lead in the future progress of the nation by placing facilities for acquiring European knowledge by means of translations of original works, of lectures delivered and essays read before European societies and literary bodies, and stimulating inquiries in India and helping European societies in their valuable

investigations. It is only they who can polish up the treasures of the East. It is they who know English and have cultivated it strenuously that can make themselves useful—only they have access to the richest stores of modern thought and knowledge, and it is they alone that can combine the East and the West and create a literature which is the need of the land. The fact is that the original objects and aims of the Panjab University have been forgotten, and vast sums of money simply squandered on unworthy and useless objects.

So far as to one of the functions of the Panjab University as a teaching body. Let us now take a bird's-eye view of the Law School—the only other institution maintained by it. So long as Dr. Leitner was at the helm of affairs, this institution received very scant treatment. When Sir William Rattigan was appointed Vice-Chancellor, he increased the number of teachers, and during the Hon'ble Mr. Tupper's incumbency, the school has been raised to the status of a College and a European Principal imported from England. But the study of law is now at a discount. Young men find that the field is so congested that there is not room for more, and consequently, the attendance at Law lectures is falling off. I think, instead of having permanent teachers, or *quasi-permanent*, as is now the case, it would be a better plan to advertise for lecturers on given and specified subjects, as is done at Calcutta in connection with the Tagore Lectures. Say, for example, 24 lectures were required on Contracts. An award of Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 2,500 should be offered to the best qualified of any applicants who may offer themselves for the office—the selection being made from the specimen-lectures that they would be required to submit, and on other grounds. In this way we could secure better tuition. At the end of the course, these lectures should be printed at the expense of the University and be of use ever afterwards. This would have a double effect—substantial and useful teaching, and less expense. During the last thirty-two years lecturers have come and gone, leaving nothing substantial behind. Not a single series of lectures has been found good enough to be published; indeed, some seriously doubt whether lectures are delivered at all, or any trouble taken to facilitate the work of students by collecting materials from various authors and reports and presenting them in a compendious form.

While maintaining a Law College at Lahore, the University practically arrests and cramps the study of law by persistently refusing the Mofussil Colleges to open law classes for the benefit of their students. In every other Province every College has its Law class. The Panjab University makes a monopoly of the teaching of law, and will not allow a Law class to be opened elsewhere. Rivalry and competition, which often prove very wholesome, are choked out altogether, and students from long distances have to come to Lahore to pursue their legal studies. In this the University has shown a narrow-mindedness which is not much to its credit.

These two distinguishing features of the Panjab University being eliminated, in all other respects it runs in the same groove as the other Indian Universities. Like them, it holds examinations and grants degrees in Arts, Law, Science, Medicine and Oriental learning. It is in connection with its distinguishing features that it has been my aim to invite attention to it; and I shall consider myself amply rewarded if this article will arouse discussion and tend to establish the University on the lines which its founders had in view.

MADAN GOPAL.

EVOLUTION OF NOUGHT AND MINUS.

THERE would have been no such science as mathematics if the human mind had not possessed the invaluable faculty of meditation. I propose to show some of the achievements of this faculty in a field, little understood.

Of course, in the early stages, observation was necessary. The mind observed that the body consisted of two legs, two feet, two arms, two hands, two lips, two rows of teeth, two nostrils, two eyes, two ears—besides a trunk, a neck, a mouth, a face and a head. It counted at first by means of fingers or stones or balls, and in its method of grouping used not only additive combinations (like the five fingers) but subtractive forms (like those shown as in vogue at one time by the Roman numeral IX). It developed the compendious finger symbols into a system useful for all simple practical purposes, especially when aided by tallies or hieroglyphics expressing years or cycles. It learnt gradually to employ characters or symbols not merely as *ordinals* but for the purpose of calculation, and, after trying the sexagesimal and the duodecimal system of notation, invented, in India, the beautiful decimal system which is now in use in the whole civilised world.

This was a great achievement indeed. It was not difficult to invent signs for the ten digits. It was not difficult to combine the signs for the digits, as in the Hebrew, Roman and Greek systems of notation. It was not difficult to invent even the Greek *abacus*—that ingenious mechanical device “for keeping numbers of different denominations apart—a table with compartments or columns for counters, each column representing a different value to be given to a counter placed on it.” But to conceive a number *sui generis*, like the zero, a number having no value except in combination, and in combination capable of having infinite value, and to conceive the

principle of local value or value by position, under which every removal towards the left increases the value of a figure tenfold, and, by means of the zero and the said principle, to do away with the ruled columns of the cumbrous *abacus* and to express any magnitude whatsoever, were certainly extraordinary feats, and a triumph of the human mind.

It is a curious fact that the decimal system of nine ciphers and a zero, used freely by Arya Bhatta and Brahmagupta, and learnt, together with the Hindu astronomical tables, by the Arabs about 773 A.D., and explained in the 9th century by the celebrated Arab Al Kharizmi (whose name lives in the barbarous 'algorithm') was, in Europe, introduced only in the beginning of the 13th century by Leonardo of Pisa and Maximus Planudes. Our present signs + and — also are said to have been invented by Stifelius between 1486 and 1567 A.D. Various mathematical symbols have, from time to time, struggled for existence, and probably the fittest have survived.

In mathematics, symbols have played a most important part, and there is little doubt that a reflective mind, with the aid of the decimal notation, can gradually form clear conceptions of Addition and its converse Subtraction, of the shorter methods of these two called Multiplication and Division, of Measures and Multiples of Numbers, of Numerator and Denominator, of Powers and Roots—and of Proportion and Progression. What, then, was the central idea which led to the invention of the symbol zero in the decimal system ?

So far as I have been able to discover, nothing is said on this important point in mathematical works, except that the Hindus ascribed their decimal system to supernatural origin. It is, however, something to know this ; for we can turn to the authoritative religious works of the Hindus in order to see whether there are any passages in them, suggestive of the decimal system. Now, the holiest hymn in the whole Veda is the Gayatri, and the holiest symbolic word is Aum. Every Hindu who does his Sandhya not only recites the Gayatri but a verse in its praise, which says that the Gayatri has three aspects (pad) and a fourth pad, the Darshata, *parorajā*. In the fourteenth Brahmana of the 5th chapter of the Brihad Arankya Upanishad, the first aspect is said to mean the

three worlds (lowest, middle and highest), the second the three Vidyas (Rik, Yajur, and Sama) and the third the three manifestations of "the eldest and the best" life (Jeshtha and Shreshtha) called Apana, Vyana and Prana. As to the fourth aspect, the Brihad says: "The Gayatri is founded upon the fourth, the Darshata pad, the Paroraja." The meaning of this will become clear if we turn to the "four aspects" (pâds) of the symbol Aum—for the Gayatri is said to be an expansion of that mystic word, just as the Vedas are said to be an expansion of the Gayatri. In the Mândûkyopanishad, the first pâd (A) is said to mean Vaishvânara, the second (U) Taijasa, the third (M) Prajna; and Gaudapâda defines these terms to mean respectively "he who is all-pervading and cognizant of the objective," "he who is cognizant of the subjective," and "he who is a mass of all sentiency." "The Fourth," according to the Upanishad, "is that which is not conscious of the subjective nor that which is conscious of the objective, nor that which is conscious of both, nor that which is simple consciousness, nor that which is a mass of all sentiency, nor that which is all darkness. It is unseen, transcendent, inapprehensible, uninferable, unthinkable, indescribable, the sole essence of the consciousness of self, *the negative of all illusion*, the ever peaceful, all-bliss, *the One Unit*: this indeed is *âtman*, it should be known." Gaudapada's commentary on this is: "the Fourth is that which is capable of destroying all evils, ever changeless, of all beings *the one without a second*, effulgent and all-pervading." The Upanishad in the next verse calls the Fourth the "Aumkara with its parts," and in the 12th goes on to say, "that which has no parts is the fourth, indescribable, free from the illusion of experience, all-bliss, *one without a second*. This is Aumkara. He who realises Atman in himself loses self in the Self," and Gaudapada writes on this: "He who has known the *amâtra aumkara*, the *ananta mâtra*, the substratum in which all illusion dissolves itself, the all-bliss, is the only sage, and none other." Now "*amatra*" means "without parts" and "*ananta mâtra*" means "of infinite parts or of the highest inconceivable magnitude." The mystic Name is thus said to be that which is conditioned into its three parts and is yet by itself *amatra*—"the negation of all illusion. . . the One Unit," "the one without a second." If each of the three pâds meant respectively the three constituents

of the objective world corresponding with the waking state—the three constituents of the subjective world corresponding with the dreaming state—the three constituents of the real life of us all underlying the state of dreamless, peaceful sleep—the Hindu Mathematician (who, we expect, was also a metaphysician) was likely to assign the first nine numbers to these nine constituents. And I take it that the Upanishads suggested to him that the whole mystic word, the name of the Supreme, could best be represented by the one unit and a negation—for the Absolute was one without a second and was the negation of all illusion. At the same time as He included in Himself the Vaishnanava, the Taijasa and the Prajna, the mathematician thought that the unit and a negation might well stand for ten, as ten included nine. Being of a deeply religious mind, the Hindu mathematician longed to see Him in all the numbers, and he found that with the aid of the symbol zero (which, in the form of a dot, was the last part of the written form of Aum) he could preserve the order of the nine digits in every succeeding series of ten. He looked upon nine out of each set of ten as relative manifestations of God, and on the last figure as the Absolute. We may imagine him saying with child-like but deep feeling “1, 2, 3 ; 4, 5, 6 ; 7, 8, 9 ; are Thy relative manifestations of the first order, my God, and reverently I write Thee 10—using the first figure and the last sacred mark of Aum, for Thou art One without a second, and Thou art the negation of all illusion. 11, 12, 13 ; 14, 15, 16 ; 17, 18, 19 ; are thy relative manifestations of the second order, and reverently I write Thee 20 (10×2) in order to bear in mind that I contemplate Thee in the second order.” The same principle would guide him in arranging the rest of the figures.

If this theory is correct—and as there is no other theory in the field we might at least accept it until a better is propounded—it follows that the symbol Aum and the Gayatri are the basis of the decimal symbol, and it is, on the whole, well for the world that the profound meaning of the Upanishads has been embodied in the decimal notation.

Let us now pass to the next important stage in the evolution of Nought.

About the year 1,000 A.D. we find *decimal fractions* employed in Europe for the first time for extracting square roots, but the

present decimal point was not used. It was not used even by Stevinus, one of the greatest mathematicians, who was the first to recognise the value of such fractions and to advocate decimal coinage, measures and weights. Stevinus drew circlets round the decimal zero and the figures following it, to show decimal fractions, and it was Bartholomæus Pitiscus who used the decimal *point* for the first time in 1612 A.D., in his trigonometrical tables, while Napier used it in his papers on Logarithms between 1616 and 1619. Thus, this next step was also due to the humble zero, which now served a triple purpose. It introduced symmetry in the decimal notation ; it gave to every removal of a figure to the left a tenfold value ; and it gave to every removal to the right 1-10th value. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that but for its invention, Arithmetic could never have been a science. If there had been no science of Arithmetic, there would have been no science of Algebra, for Algebra is, according to Newton, "Universal Arithmetic." The mind revelled in stupendous arithmetical operations, but on the whole, these were "capable of direct interpretation *per se*." To use the language of Patanjali, arithmetic was due to *Savitarka samâpatti*, to identification of the mind with numbers in the material world. It was necessary to take the further step of *Savichâra samâpatti*—or identification of the mind with numbers in the *ideal* world, and hence the beautiful science of Algebra.

It is now acknowledged that, like arithmetic, algebra was a Hindu science. Colébrooke has shown how superior the Hindu algebra of Aryabhatta was to that of his Greek rival, and probably contemporary, Diophantus, who flourished in the fourth century A.D. The Hindu algebraist and his successors, Brahmagupta and Bhaskara, added a brilliant idea to that which had made the fortunes of the science of arithmetic, but it was again an idea borrowed from Hindu religious philosophy. The 'zero' took them back to the time of the Upanishads, when the Rishis sang of Him who was *amâtra* and yet *anantamâtra*—who could only be described by negations and yet who was All. The nine digits again told them of the three trinities, which, however, were known to be manifestations of a single trinity—Prakriti, Purush and Ishwar—represented in the Svastika by two upper and lower but intersecting triangles of *equal* dimensions and a circle, and also represented by

each of the three parts of Aum—the whole word, like the centre of the circle, being reserved for the Paruhottama, Parameshwara or Parabrahma, who was Unthinkable. The ten digits helped the mathematical-metaphysical thinker to keep in touch with the outer manifestations—such as the three worlds—the three Vedas—and the three life-breaths, and to *subsume* them under the Absolute. But the outer world was a world of limitations, and arithmetic was “cribbed, cabined, confined, bound in” to those limitations. Putting aside the question of the Whence and Wherefore of Life, all the rest of the phenomena, subjective and objective, were clearly seen to be manifestations of Purush and Prakriti—Spirit and Matter, or as the Parsis would put it, Ahurmazd and Ahriman. In the Hegelian philosophy, these two figure as Thesis and Antithesis, and a Hindu would say they were reconciled in Ishwara, their synthesis, who was one with the Absolute. The Indian algebraists found that the idea of synthesis had been sufficiently represented by the use of the zero, and in widening the domain of arithmetic they thought they could best represent Prakriti and Purush by plus and minus, used, not as in arithmetic, but with perfect independence. Everything in the universe appeared to them to have actually or potentially two faces—the face of Prakriti and the face of Purush—and as Purush and Prakriti *appeared* like two independent antagonistic forces, the use of independent antagonistic symbols was sure, in their opinion, to ally itself to all the *phenomena*, objective and subjective, and create a universal arithmetic. Both Prakriti and Purush, it should be remembered, were, according to Hindu philosophy, without beginning and without end, and as their harmony in Ishwara was represented by zero, and as plus and minus were equal to zero, plus and minus were chosen as such signs.

It is due to Diophantus also to admit that he started with the paradox now familiar to every schoolboy who reads elementary algebra—the paradox that *minus multiplied by minus produces plus*. The gifted Hypatia, whose unhappy fate draws tears from our eyes as we read her story in Kingsley's luminous pages, wrote a commentary on Diophantus' *Arithmetics* (which included his algebra), but the work of that brilliant gem among pure-souled virgins is lost. In the 9th century in the Khalifate of Almamoun, Muhammad of Buziana, who was certainly acquainted with the astronomy and

mathematics of the Hindus, wrote his Algebra, which he expressly called a compilation. In the last half of the tenth century, another Arab, Abulwafa, translated the writings of Diophantus. In the beginning of the 13th century Leonardo of Pisa, who had introduced the Hindu decimal system in Europe, partially introduced also the Hindu algebra, and in the 16th century the original work of Diophantus was discovered in the Vatican Library all the worse for the neglect it had suffered. It was reserved to Colebrooke to show that many of the brilliant achievements of modern European algebraists had been anticipated by Aryabhata, Brahmagupta and Bháskara.

The algebraists start with the proposition that "Quantities affected by the signs plus and minus are no way influenced by the quantities to which they are united by these signs"; in other words, that the said signs have an independent existence as "collective symbols of operations, the *reverse* of each other," and that if *plus* means positive, *minus* means negative; if *plus* means gain, *minus* means loss; if *plus* means forward, *minus* means backward. It follows from this principle that Addition and Subtraction can be performed in any order, and as Multiplication is but a shorter method of Addition, and Division a shorter method of Subtraction, it follows that Multiplication and Division (the signs of which \times and \div are cumulative symbols of operations, the *inverse* of each other) can also be performed in any order. Curious as it may appear, the whole of algebra is based on these first principles, and on these four operations, two of which are the *reverse* of each other, while the other two are the *inverse* of each other.

It is not quite easy to express the distinction between arithmetical numbers and algebraic quantities without going into too many details, but it is worth while referring to a few facts in order to illustrate the distinction, for otherwise the evolution of Minus will not be intelligible.

As the + and — signs are independent, we have to ask, in algebraic addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, not merely whether the quantities to be dealt with are like or unlike, but also whether the signs are like or unlike; for every quantity is supposed to have either a plus sign or a minus sign, and if no sign is expressed it is assumed that the sign is plus, just as if no numerical

co-efficient is expressed, it is assumed to be unity. If the quantities to be added are like and have like signs (*e. g.*, $+3a+5a$), we add together the co-efficients ($3+5$) and prefix the common sign ($+$) and annex the common letter (a). If the quantities are like but have unlike signs (*e. g.* $+7a+6a-3a-5a$) we add the positive co-efficients ($7+6$) separately, and the negative co-efficients separately ($3+5$)—then subtract the lesser from the greater ($13-8$) prefix the sign of the greater ($+$) to the remainder and annex the common letter (a). If the quantities are unlike and the signs are unlike (*e. g.* $+2a+3b-4c$) we have merely to put down the quantities one after another in any order with their signs and co-efficients prefixed. So far the only differences we notice are that, unlike the signs $+$ and $-$ in arithmetic, those in algebra mark, as it were, the quality, so to say, of the quantities to which they are attached, and one or the other is attached to every quantity. We have thus negative quantities like -1 , which can be shifted about in addition, and placed in any position we like. In other words, algebra feels no horror at adding up minus quantities.

Turning to subtraction, we notice another difference between arithmetic and algebra. If I tell a schoolboy to subtract 20 mangoes from 30 oranges, he will either laugh at me or ask me about the weight, the size, and the value of the mangoes and the oranges. But if I ask an algebraist to subtract say $(2p-3q)$ from $(m+o)$ he does not laugh at me or put me awkward questions, and quietly argues thus: "If I subtract $2p$ from $m+o$ the remainder is $m+o-2p$. Now $2p-3q$ is less than $2p$. Therefore the remainder will be greater by a quantity equal to $3q$, that is, the remainder will be $m+o-2p+3q$. It is therefore safe to lay down that in algebraic subtraction, all that is necessary is to *change the signs of the quantities to be subtracted* and then add them to the other quantities in accordance with the rule of addition." This, it will be admitted, is a valuable generalisation which saves infinite pains to the algebraist, but which finds no place in Arithmetic.

In Multiplication and Division we have to make use of the paradox of Diophantus, but the algebraist shows how it is perfectly reasonable. He says: "There is no difficulty in understanding that $+a \times +b = +ab$. But I assert that $+a \times -b$ is equal to $-ab$ while $-a \times -b$ is equal to $+ab$, that is $+a \times +b$ are equal to $-a \times -b$, or

in other words, that *when the multiplic and the multiplier have like signs the sign of the product is + but if they have unlike signs the sign of the product is a minus*. And my reason is this : $+a \times (+b - b) = +a \times +0 = 0$. Also $+ab - ab = 0$. But $+a \times (+b - b)$ is composed of $+a \times +b$ and $+a \times -b$. Therefore these make up zero and are equal to $+ab - ab$ which is $= 0$. $\therefore +a \times -b = -ab$ and $-a \times -b = +ab$. Remember throughout that whether you connect $-b$ with $+b$ or with $+a$, $-b$ must have the same value. By similar reasoning it can be shown that *when the dividend and the divisor have like signs the quotient is + but if they have unlike signs the quotient is -*. Arithmetic can only gasp at such a result. Such abstractions are unknown to it.

Again, when we talk of multiplication of a fraction in algebra, we seem, *at first sight*, to imply a new application of the term, hardly consistent with its definition in arithmetic, but it is perfectly intelligible *when the idea of multiplication is introduced into the definition of the fraction itself*. Similarly, though in arithmetic the square root of a number is another number which, when multiplied by itself, shall produce the first number, in algebra, where quantity takes the place of number, "the definition leads to a less limited result than in arithmetic. In the latter science there cannot be two square roots of the same thing; in the former there will necessarily be two": for $+2 \times +2$ gives 4

$$\text{and } -2 \times -2 \text{ gives } 4$$

Hence the square root of

$$\begin{aligned} 4 &= +2 \\ &= -2 \end{aligned}$$

a conclusion at which Arithmetic again cannot but feel the greatest surprise.

But this is not all, for algebra deals not only with *negative* quantities but with *impossible* or *imaginary* quantities. It should be remembered that every minus quantity is "subject to all the operations and definitions of the science," like every plus quantity, and is therefore "clearly competent to express the *result of extracting its square root*. That form must of necessity be something different in character from $\sqrt{2}$ whether $\sqrt{2}$ be + or -. For the definition requires that the square root of -2 shall be such a quantity as, when multiplied by itself, shall produce -2 . It is then clearly no

arithmetical quantity either + or —, but some quantity connected with numerical quantities *by its properties, but not by its nature*. It is termed an *impossible* or *imaginary* quantity, and may be written $\sqrt{-2}$ or $\sqrt{2} \sqrt{-1}$, and the same notation applies to the square roots of all negative quantities." This finds its counterpart in Patanjali's definition of Vikalp in the Yogasutras, but Arithmetic will be too much dazed to understand even what is meant by the square root of a negative quantity.

It is this boldness of the conception of negative quantities which has made algebra such a valuable instrument for discovering the roots of the unknown by comparison with the known quantities, that is, for discovering "numerical quantities which, when written in place of the unknown quantity, renders the equation a numerical identity."

The algebraic system of notation is so convenient and so compact—thanks to the supersensual conceptions of zero and minus based upon Hindu metaphysics—that all the quantities we wish to deal with in an equation of any dimensions can not only be constantly kept in view, but we can add equal quantities to or subtract such quantities from each side of the equation as well as multiply or divide each side with equal quantities or subject each side to equal involutions and evolutions. We have only to change its sign in order to transpose any quantity from one side to the other. We strike out any quantity which is found on each side with the same sign, and we can change the signs of all the terms of an equation into contrary ones without affecting the truth of the equation.

Again, as equal quantities can be imported from without for multiplication or division, if the unknown quantity in an equation has a numerical co-efficient, it can be removed by dividing all the other terms of the equation by it, and if any term of an equation be a fraction, its denominator can be removed by multiplying all the other terms by it. Moreover, as the root of any proposed quantity in algebra is found by dividing the exponent of the quantity by the index of the root (e.g., the cube root of $a^3 = \sqrt[3]{a^3} = a^1$) quantities which have fractional exponents (like $a^{\frac{1}{2}}$) and which are called surds or *irrational*, and have properties almost identical with those of imaginary quantities, have to be dealt with. They

correspond to the *Viparyaya* of Patanjali just as the imaginary quantities correspond to his *Vikalp* and the *rational* quantities to his *pramāna*; and just as in Yoga the *Viparyaya* has to be suppressed, so in algebra "if the unknown quantity is found in any term which is a surd," the surd is made to stand alone on one side of the equation and the remaining terms on the opposite, and then each side is involved to a power denoted by the index of the surd, "and thus the unknown quantity is freed from the surd expression."

The Government of India cannot do better perhaps than deal with the unfortunate Ryots in the manner surds are dealt with. Let the poor Ryot stand on one side of the unfortunate equation supposed now to exist between him and his "Seven Masters." Let the Ryot be raised to "a communal power" and let his seven masters be also raised to the same power—in other words, let them be also members of efficient village communities and councils, and there will be no surds in the administration.

The unfortunate equation itself can be very graphically represented by algebraic notation. Let us substitute $R^{\frac{1}{2}}$ for the deaf, dumb, down-trodden Ryot—a true surd—and

P^{21} for the policeman armed with his powers under the Criminal Procedure Code and other Acts,

T^{18} for the Talati armed with his powers under the Land Revenue Laws,

F^{15} for the Forest Guard armed with his powers under the Forest Act,

B^{13} for the Bailiff armed with his powers under the Civil Procedure Code,

D^9 for the Darogha armed with his powers under the Irrigation Act,

S^6 for the Salt patrol armed with his powers under the Salt Act,

A^3 for the Abkari patrol armed with his powers under the Excise Act,

and we have the frightful equation of

$$R^{\frac{1}{2}} = P^{21} + T^{18} + F^{15} + B^{13} + D^9 + S^6 + A^3$$

Let Lord Curzon resolve it if he can.

But algebra was apparently not intended for the use of the Ryot. It was intended for the use of profound investigators and

for the expression mainly of the polarity of nature. That its principal assumption is not untrue, is proved by the testimony of numerous scientists who have been able to put their formulæ into extremely neat forms with its aid. Dr. Halley, for example, found a formula in optics, which, "by a mere change of the signs gave the focus of both converging and diverging rays, whether reflected or refracted by convex or concave specula or lenses," and oculists in prescribing spectacles use the plus and minus signs in the same way. Surely, this is a great step from finger-counting, and it has been reached by means of deep meditation carried on with ideas *not derived from the outer, but the inner world.*

ZERO.

KRISHNA : THE HINDU IDEAL.

(Concluded.)

IN what follows, one or the other, or all the processes of weeding out the allegory and the addition, the exaggeration and the accretion, have been applied to one or two most material incidents in Krishna's life, and an attempt has been made to arrive at the truth, and present him as he was really described in the original Mahabharata ; in brief, as he was or must have been. Within the short space of a magazine article it is not possible to apply the test to each and every step and action in his life ; but it must be said that, when that intensely instructive and interesting task is gone through, the result exceeds all expectations. The hero emerges safe and sound from the ordeal, and we see a man, unconquerable and unconquered in battle, pure in thought, word and deed, righteous in action, loving and merciful, always ready to do his duty, the very soul of religion and learning, of unexceptionable morals, philanthropic, just, forgiving, devoid of pride, and a born administrator, though living the life of a householder, at the same time possessing all the attributes of an anchorite. In this way he may appear to have been a greater man than Christ or Buddha ; because they generally *preached* religion, while he *practised* it. They set the world against them ; he lived in the world and carried it with him. The greatest aim of his life was to build up in India, on a solid foundation, a *Dharmarajya*, a reign of truth and religion. He did it, at the end of the great war, though he had to wade through blood for it. It was a tenet of the religion preached and practised by him, that when you have to do a duty for the public good, you are to look neither to the right nor to the left, you have to go straight on and

do it. The Kauravas were as closely related to him as the Pandavas, but the former had become dishonest and grasping, and to establish truth and justice in the land, it was necessary that one set of the relatives should go. True to his tenets, Krishna elected that the dishonest should perish, and so he made up his mind to lend the whole weight of his advice and intelligence to the Pandavas, with the result with which we are all familiar.

We shall, in the light of the above process of construction, so to speak, by destruction, examine that phase of Krishna's character, which has brought him into the greatest disrepute—his libidinousness, his lewd relations with the *Gopis* (milkmaids, herdswomen) of Vrindavan. It is unnecessary to state that his name in this connection is used as synonymous with the height of immorality. On a close examination of facts, not a tittle of evidence is, however, found to support the charge, and Krishna is found to be as good and as moral a man as any going. To start with, no such improper amours as he is charged with having indulged in are even hinted at, much less narrated, in any genuine portion of the Mahabharata. On the contrary, there is negative evidence to corroborate the statement that nothing was further from his nature than any such indulgence. Shishupala was one of Krishna's bitterest enemies, and he never allowed any opportunity to pass without having a fling at him. At the celebration of the *Raj Suya Yajna* by Yudhishthira, when it was proposed by Bhishma to put Krishna in the place of honour, in the presence of one of the largest and grandest assemblages of kings ever held in ancient India, Shishupala's rage knew no bounds, and the powerful invective in which he there indulged is a specimen of its kind. But beyond belittling all the adventures of Krishna he was able to do nothing. He could not point to a single flaw in the moral armour of Krishna, and he was not the man to omit even pointing to a rumour, had there been any such, of his moral escapades. But we find no allusion to any such thing by Shishupala, which goes to prove that even in the eye of his greatest enemy he was guilty of no profligacy. Indeed, during the whole range of the authentic historical part of the Mahabharata, he is never named in the same breath with the *Gopis*, much less with Radha, excepting in one place, when bewildered, helpless Draupadi, on the point of being deprived of her single wearing cloth—*Sari*—runs through the gamut

of the names of all those who can possibly come to her assistance, in the Court of the Kauravas. Krishna stood to her in the place of a brother, and naturally enough she invokes his help too. There she applies to him the epithet of *Gopijanapriya*—dear to the milkmaids—an epithet, most innocent, though at the same time significant of the fact that he must have been an exceptionally handsome boy, to be thus admired and made much of by all the *Gopis* of Vraja. It is needless to say that a healthy, handsome boy naturally draws towards himself the affection and admiration of simple womenfolk.

But this innocent and natural love of the *Gopa* women of Vrindavan for the child, as we proceed to a further stage in the history of the incident, we see developing in the Vishnupurana, into a sort of love which a maid would cherish for a young man, though the description of the sentiment shows that it is written in a spirit of holiness, as if the writer wanted the reader to believe that there was nothing morally wrong, nothing unholy, in the regard which the one entertained for the other. The scene is laid, on a moonlit night during the Sharada season (August-September), in one of those far-famed groves of Vrindavan whose natural scenery even to-day is unrivalled. The actors are Krishna and his brother and the milkmaids of Vraja. Seized by one of those irresistible impulses with which at times silent but beautiful scenes of Nature overpower the hearts of her worshippers, he takes up his *Bansi*, (flute), and plays a thrilling tune on it, causing the maids to hasten to where he is, regardless of their dress, their appearance and their occupation. The presence of the fair ones and the scenery around lead him on to indulge in a dance with the *Gopis*, and they all dance a circular dance. This is his celebrated *Rasa*, which means nothing more nor less than a sport in which men and women take one another's hands, and, singing, dance in a circle. It appears that in those days no objection was taken to such a mixed kind of sport, just as in present times the most civilised nation in the world sees nothing objectionable in a ball. The remnant of this sort of sport still survives in some of the most aboriginal tribes of India, in the Kali Paraj and the Bhils of Gujarat, and in several wild tribes of Central India, and of the borders of Bengal. In *Kathiawad* even to-day, in the *Khawds* caste, men and women dance the

very same dance, and call it by a name which is a corruption of the word *Hallisha*. Even granting that there is a foundation of truth for this incident, there does not appear to have been any moral culpability in Krishna's thus having yielded to one of those feelings, which a man in possession of healthy animal spirits naturally wants to indulge in. Indeed, a man who would pose as a model for others would, rather than shun such actions, enjoy them, there being nothing objectionable or exceptionable in them. Society in his days tolerated them. This incident is repeated in the *Harivansha*, with very little difference, excepting that for the word *Rása*, the author there has used the word *Hallisha*, a circular dance by women. The work where apparently the morbid imagination of the poet has run wild in this connection is, however, the last in this series : it is the *Bhāgvata*. For whatever notions are at present current about Krishna, this book is responsible. Of the two incidents that it describes, most damaging to Krishna's character, one, viz., his running away and hiding himself in a tree, with the clothes put off by the women of *Vraja*, while they were taking their morning bath in the *Jamna*, and not returning these to them till they had made their obeisance to him after coming out of the water, has no warrant of history to support it. Indeed, it lacks even the slight credentials of a fact, which could have been furnished either by the *Vishnupurana* or the *Harivansha*. The physical aspect of the other—the *Rāsailā*—left untouched and incomplete by the former poets, has been completed in the *Bhāgvata*, and Krishna is presented as nothing better than a confirmed adulterer. Attempts have been made to explain away this phase of his character by attaching to it an esoteric meaning. But we are not concerned with that. What we say is, that the Krishna depicted by genuine history is a person as distantly resembling the Krishna of the *Bhāgvata*, the present ideal of the Hindus, as light resembles darkness.

We shall take one more instance, and see how he comes out of the test. It is he who is said to have suggested to *Yudhishtira*, and his brothers, in the thick of the battle of *Kurukshetra*, to resort to a falsehood in order to destroy one of the bravest generals of the age, *Drona*. It was eminently desirable to get him out of the way, for, after *Bhishma*, he was committing the greatest havoc

in the ranks of the Pandavas. Excepting Arjuna, there was no other individual who was a match for him, and he was doubly unwilling to undertake the task, both because Drona was a Brahmin, and his teacher—*Guru*—in the art of archery. Krishna, therefore, is said to have hit upon a plan, which was surely calculated to make him lay down his arms; his destruction then being comparatively a lighter task. He loved his son Ashwat-thámá very much, and so Krishna prevails upon Yudhishtira and Bhima to circulate a falsehood to the effect that Ashwat-thámá had been killed; the grief at the loss of his son was sure to lead Drona to cease fighting. Arjuna alone is said to have opposed the plan, but still, with very great reluctance, the truth-loving Yudhishtira, and the frank-hearted, straightforward Bhima consented to take part in its execution, and actually accomplished it, the latter by killing an elephant of the name of Ashwat-thámá, and circulating the news that Ashwat-thámá was killed, and the former by repeating it to Drona, who being in doubt about it, turned to the ever-truthful Dharmaraja in the certain hope of learning the truth from him. Yudhishtira is said to have replied in a loud voice, "Yes, Ashwat-thámá is killed," and added in an inaudible whisper, "but it was an elephant!" Drona thereupon laid down his arms, and was easily killed.

Now, examining this episode in the light of some of the canons above enunciated, it turns out to be wholly a myth, the only credible part, and consequently that belonging to the first layer, being that Drona was killed at the hands of Draupadi's brother, being unable to continue the fight, after five days. All throughout the Mahabharata, Yudhishtira has been portrayed as the very image of truthfulness, Bhima of wild, uncontrollable courage, mixed with open-heartedness, straightforwardness, and contempt for tortuous ways, and Krishna, of honesty of purpose, righteousness, and freedom from every sort of guile or resort to vulgar stratagems. The dark colours in which these three characters are painted here—scheming intriguers, lying conspirators, and deliberate murderers—is, to say the least, a sure index of the fact that the brush that was working on this canvas was not the brush of the original painter; he dared not risk his reputation by painting a daub in inharmonious colours on one and the same canvas. Then the next test also leads to the same result. There are two contradictory reasons given in the

Mahabharata for Drona's fall. The first we have seen ; the second is the approach of certain Rishis at the time Drona was in the thick of the fight, and telling him that he was fighting unrighteously and had therefore forfeited heaven. This cooled his ardour, and taking advantage of the situation, Draupadi's brother attacked and killed him. There is no reference to the falsehood about Ashwat-thámá's death in this. One of these two contradictory episodes must, therefore, have been superadded. Now, to determine which is new and which is old, we have to see if either of them partakes of any other characteristic, which also stamps an event as an interpolation. We have just observed that the episode about Ashwat-thámá's death partakes of this. So we can safely reject it as unreliable. Let us apply one more test. Krishna must surely have possessed as much common-sense as the average man. Would he not have thought that even if such a false rumour about the death of Ashwat-thámá be set afloat, Drona would not readily swallow it, but like an ordinary man of prudence inquire about it from his own people?—would make inquiries into the matter and send for his son, before accepting such a horrible rumour as true? If Krishna was capable of exerting so much intelligence—and there is no reason to suppose he was not—he could have seen that his plan was doomed to prove a failure. Both the *Anukramanikádhya* and the *Parva Sangrahádhya* are silent about this alleged reprehensible conduct of our hero; had it been a fact, mention would undoubtedly have been made of it there, just as, for instance, in the case of Abhimanyu, whose defeat and death by unrighteous means is specifically mentioned in the latter. The seventh and eighth sections of the Drona Parva also refer succinctly to his death, but they do not allude even remotely to Krishna having taken any part—principal or subsidiary, in it. Krishna himself, after the end of the war, on his return to Dwarka, in reciting the events of the whole war for the information of his father Vasudeva, only speaks of the five days' fight between Dhrishtadyumna—Draupadi's brother—and Drona, and of the latter having been killed because of weakness due to exhaustion. It appears that this is somewhere about the whole truth, and the rest are interpolations belonging to the secondary and tertiary stages of the narrative. We need not examine the motives responsible for finding them a place in the epic.

Perhaps the efforts which Krishna made to prevent a cruel and literally an internecine war taking place between the Pandavas and the Kauravas are not so well known as they ought to be. At the risk of his own life, after trying various other modes, he had gone to the capital of the Kauravas to prevail upon them to give up following the dictates of cupidity, but his utmost efforts were thrown away on them, and much in spite of himself the war had to proceed.

Instances of Krishna's goodness, his kindliness, and in short, his fitness to stand as a model man, can be multiplied. Indeed, the task has been already accomplished by a well-known Bengali gentleman, the late Babu Bankim Chunder Chatterji, upon whose labours this article has freely drawn. The only regret is that his work—in which Krishna has been freed from every stigma that attached to his name, by methods logical, critical and analytical—is not so widely known as those which delight in making a travesty of the life of the hero. This article is, therefore, meant to attract the attention of those scholars who would like to rescue the good name of one of "the wisest and greatest of Hindus" from the calumny into which it has fallen, by means which are as convincing and unexceptionable as they are scientific. The above outlines will, it is hoped, serve as a finger-post to show in which direction the right path lies. * It aims at nothing more.

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KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND INDIA.

SINCE Europe emerged successful from the Napoleonic struggle, it came gradually to be recognised that nationality was the only true basis of the formation of States. Apart from the purely legal conception of a State as set out in Austin's famous analysis, a sense of nationality among the members composing the body politic has been considered to be fundamental to the growth and permanence of States. Such a sense of nationality is usually caused by a common racial affinity, a common religion, common social and political institutions. A mere feeling of this nature would be quite valueless unless reinforced by the existence of a definite and compact territory. In fact, from about the middle of the 19th century and until quite recently, the generally received conception of a truly organic State included a number of individuals settled on a definite territory, united by a sense of nationality, and owing obedience to a common national government.

At present, however, we are undergoing a transformation of ideas in the conception of a State. While the typical State of the second half of the 19th century was the national State, the dawning of the 20th century is witnessing the rise of a new conception of the typical State—that of the national empire. A definite and compact territory is no longer considered to be a *sine qua non* for the existence of a State. Steam and electricity, they say, have annihilated distance. A State may, therefore, extend over a number of detached areas in different parts of the world. It need not, under certain circumstances, even rest on a territorial basis. It may have a mere system of protectorates in foreign countries whereby it may exercise jurisdiction without actually owning the territory on which that jurisdiction is exercised. It may have suzerain powers of an undefined nature over areas otherwise independent. It may even have, what is termed “a sphere of influence” over portions of continents, yet unoccupied, which are reckoned for international purposes as being within the purview of States.

The principle of nationality has also received a slightly restricted, though thoroughly unwarranted, meaning. The right of nations to their own national government has come to be understood to refer only to the European nations and their kinsmen in America, Africa and Australia. The political impulse is considered to be absent in the non-European races, and it is “the white man's burden” to bring the Asiatic races under the civilising influences of the West.

This change in the conception of the State, is coincident with a change in the notions as to its functions and institutions. Until the seventies and eighties of the 19th century, under the influence of the Manchester School of Economists and of the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, the State was, at least among English political philosophers, regarded as a means to an end—the end, in utilitarian phraseology, being the greatest happiness of the greatest number. In so far as a State did not promote the end in view, its actions were considered mischievous, while the transgression of the limits of a strictly individualistic minimum of State interference was, as a rule, harmful, to be justified only by strong and special circumstances.

On the other hand, the German view which grew up later under the influence of the strong, unifying, national movement in Germany, discarded this commercial conception of State functions, and insisted, perhaps too strongly, on its organic nature. Seeking to magnify the importance of the State as against the individual, it exhibited a tendency towards reverting to the earlier Greek ideal of regarding the State as an end in itself. The greatest of all political philosophers, Aristotle, has laid it down that, while the State comes into being for the sake of *life*, it exists and continues for the sake of the *good life*. In other words, while man cannot live out of a State, it is only in the State that he can find his noblest expression, that he can realise to the full his highest hopes and aspirations. The German theory, therefore, looks to the State and its organs as the necessary agents in furthering the progress of the nation, in realising its individuality and vigour, in perfecting the members composing it. And the tendency in recent times, both in England and on the Continent, has been towards legislative activity—largely socialistic in character—and towards a large increase in the duties and responsibilities of Government. The principle of nationality works in conjunction with this increased State activity, and there has generally followed a vigorous policy of expansion. "To nationalism there is at the present day added an imperialism—a desire to expand and get hold of as much of the earth's surface as the energy and opportunities of each nation permit."

It is, therefore, evident that the political organisation of this expanded State and its political institutions must also change so as to correspond with the change in the ideas as to its conception and character. At the present day, France, with her innate and inveterate tendency towards centralisation, makes of her colonies mere outlying departments, with the same institutions as those of the department of the Seine for instance—a policy which, by crippling colonial enterprise and advancement, has not at all been a success. Russia, with the autocratic character of her empire aided by the prevalence of a strong pan-slavic sentiment and by the compact nature of her territory, has had no need to alter her institutions. As yet, Germany has but just begun its career of colonial expansion, and has thus not felt the urgency of the need for a change in her machinery of government. It remains yet to be seen what the United States of America will ultimately make of the Filipinos.

It is only in the British Empire that we can perceive the need and the desire for changing the political organisation. England occupies a

unique position in this modern Imperialism. She was the earliest to develop the principle of nationality in politics. She has achieved results of this earlier phase of political development with far fewer sacrifices than the rest of the European nations. The Englishman is considered to possess in a special degree the genius for organisation, the essential qualities for governing himself, and the capacity for successful colonisation. It is from England that other nations have imbibed the spirit of imperialism, the desire to spread themselves as widely as possible, over the earth's surface. She has had the largest colonial expansion and the longest, and the desire for a change in her political organisation to suit the needs of this expanded Empire has of late been generally expressed.

Recent circumstances, too, in England have led to a general reaction against the Manchester School—*Smithianism* as the Germans call it. The colonies are no longer regarded as mere burdens to the mother country, but as essential and integral portions of the Empire, contributing so much to the trade, power and prestige of England. The individualistic minimum of State interference and the general-happiness-theory of State action have been discarded as inadequate, and England has gone in for legislation of a socialistic character and for a more paternal view of the functions of the State. Above all, the large colonial expansion that England has achieved has excited the rivalries and jealousies of foreign nations, and Englishmen all over the world, not unnaturally, have felt the necessity for strengthening, instead of loosening, the ties between the mother country and the colonies.

In another aspect also, though perhaps less certainly, the need for a closer union is expressed by many. England, by steps rendered necessary by the stern logic of facts, has come to adopt a policy of out-and-out free trade; and the quite obvious advantages which she has obtained from such a policy have led her not merely to persist in it but also to consent to the adoption of a protectionist policy even by her colonies. In other words, she has ungrudgingly paid the duties imposed on her goods by the colonies, while she has allowed their goods to pass duty free. The colonies, on the other hand, have not seen, in quite so obvious a form as England, the immediate advantages of free trade, and hold, not without some reason, that a policy of protection is necessary to develop their resources. The anomaly is felt both in the colonies and in England, and many have urged the formation of a *zollverein*, with free trade between its members but with differential duties on foreign goods.

The necessity for a reorganisation and clear definition of the relations between England and her colonies is also expressed to be necessary in regard to the constitution and functions of the Privy Council. There have recently been evident signs of the discontent which many of the colonies feel towards a system by which appeals are heard from the colonial courts by His Majesty's Privy Council. That the vague and undefined nature of the British constitution, however much it might conduce to its elasticity and permanence, should also steal its way into the constitution of the highest court of appeal in the Empire, appears, in the eyes of the colonists, undesirable and mischievous. Colonies which possess their own legislatures, whose laws are not, as a matter of fact, subject to the approval of the British Parliament, naturally

object to the interpretation and abrogation of their laws by a body in which they are not represented, whose members possess no special knowledge of the colonies whose constitution and procedure are so incongruous.

At the present day, in consequence of the Transvaal troubles, the question of providing a definite organisation for the Empire has been prominently in evidence before the public. On the outbreak of the Boer war it was felt to be necessary all over the Empire to get contingents from the colonies, not merely for the purposes of the war but also for the purpose of proving to "the envious nations" the strength and solidarity of the Empire. The imperial spirit which has so strongly infected all parts of the Empire, being dissatisfied with the rather curious anomaly by which the colonies have to send up contingents *voluntarily* for the aid of the mother country, has increasingly demanded a common organisation of the forces of the Empire, at least for meeting its military needs.

Meanwhile, the crying difficulty under which Australia was labouring—the want of a definition and organisation of the relations between its parts—was found necessary to be remedied, and the Home Government has with slight reservations given its consent to the Australia Commonwealth Act. The success of Australian federalism, we may say, has given a great fillip to the Imperial Federation movement. The fact that the colonies of Australia, so divergent in their economic and fiscal policy, should have succeeded in accomplishing a federation, mainly through the strength of common national feelings, has, not unnaturally, led many to expect that Imperial Federation may soon become an accomplished fact.

Before proceeding to discuss the feasibility of the adoption of any of the various schemes proposed for the consolidation of the Empire, it is well, perhaps, to say a few words about the growth of the Imperial Federation movement in England. It was the appearance of the "Expansion of England" that first pointedly drew the attention of Englishmen to the need for drawing closer the ties between the colonies and the mother country. The sentiment of imperial unity had indeed been growing for some time prior to this, but it was the late Mr. Seeley's brilliant essay that gave an impetus to the movement. A lecture on the subject by the late Mr. W. E. Forster bore a practical fruit in the establishment of the Imperial Federation League, of which he became the first president. Lord Rosebery's accession to the presidency after Mr. Forster's death furthered the progress of the League, and until 1893 it did valuable work in stimulating the sense of imperial unity all over the Empire. In 1893, the League presented to the Home Government certain recommendations, pointing out the desirability of inviting the self-governing colonies to take a share in the cost of the general defence of the Empire, and the feasibility of forming a council of the Empire dealing with questions of defence and foreign policy. The League dissolved in 1893, and, in accordance with its suggestions, the Imperial Federation Defence Committee was formed. The Jubilee celebrations of 1897 showed the extent and the strength of the imperial sentiment, and the Defence Committee is now in a position to point out how far the colonies are prepared to contribute towards the common defence.

But, as yet, not only has the Committee failed to formulate any definite scheme of federation or consolidation, but no particular scheme can be said to command the support of any considerable section of the people at home or in the colonies. It is, therefore, futile to go into the merits of any of the various schemes put forward, and I shall content myself by merely trying to discuss their main features and general tendency.

One of the most obvious suggestions generally made to bring the colonies into closer touch with the mother country is to secure their representation in the Imperial Parliament. The suggestion is, indeed, as old as Adam Smith, and a resolution to the same effect was brought forward in a very recent debate in the House of Commons. It is, however, clear that such a scheme—to use the words of Mr. Chamberlain—would give satisfaction neither to the colonies nor to the mother country. "The present position is," said Mr. Chamberlain, "that the great colonies, although they reverence the person of the sovereign and are devoted in their loyalty to the crown, are, nevertheless, with that exception, sister nations, and their assistance is rendered to us voluntarily upon such occasions as we are witnessing to-day. But we do not pretend to have any power to compel their assistance." A representation of the colonies in Parliament would result not merely in restricting their independence, but also in giving them a handle with which they might actively interfere in the internal affairs of England. It will dislocate very much the party system of Government in England, and introduce a mischievous element by the presence, as Cobden put it, of a local and sectional interest in Parliament. It will render the relations of the colonial members towards the changing Governments very precarious. Such a scheme, moreover, is not in the least likely to relieve Parliament of the present congested state of its business. In fact, any scheme which aims at a unitary constitution for the Empire is bound to lead to a loss of political power and energy both to the colonies and to the mother country. It is not, further, unlikely that a spirit of antagonism will arise between the colonies and England, and that complication and strain in their relations will be the result.

A federal constitution, consistent with the independence of the colonies, is more usually proposed for the Empire. The colonies and the mother country are to form part-states of a great federation, each with its own State legislature—the common imperial affairs being in the hands of an Imperial Council consisting of two Chambers. A federal constitution for the British Empire raises difficulties of its own. Every one is familiar with the brilliant chapters of Professor Dicey in which he illustrates the peculiar characteristics of the English constitution—the Sovereignty of Parliament and the Rule of Law—by contrasting it with federalism. He shows there how the very conception of a federation is foreign to the ideas of Englishmen and is diametrically opposed to the cardinal principles of the English constitution. Federalism, as he there points out, is the result of two inconsistent desires—the desire for union and the desire for separation—and the consequences of the working of these two desires are, firstly, the non-sovereign character of the federal legislature, secondly, the rigidity of the constitution, and lastly, the authority of the courts in the interpre-

tation of the constitution. It is plain that ideas in England should make great strides before Englishmen can be induced to give up their flexible constitution and their sovereign legislature. That Englishmen have not yet arrived at a proper appreciation of the true nature of federalism is apparent from the discussions which took place at the passing of the Australia Commonwealth Act. It must, therefore, be a long time before England, with all her historical antecedents, her distaste for wholesale innovations and her superior position as a mother country, could persuade herself to accept the position of a part and subordinate State of a great federation.

Apart from the question of the adoption of a unitary or a federal constitution, it may perhaps be questioned whether any political organisation is, at present, at all necessary for the Empire, and, if so, whether such an organisation could be created. The prevalence of a great deal of imperial sentiment all over the empire cannot be denied. But the question is, as John Morley would say, whether this sentiment would supply steam enough to work the machinery. "All political unions," says Professor Seeley, "exist for the good of their members and should be just as large, and no larger, as they can be without ceasing to be beneficial." There is no gainsaying the fact that in many matters the interests of the colonies are divergent from those of the mother country and of each other. Again, "countries separated by half the globe," said John Stuart Mill, "do not present the natural conditions for being members of one federation. If they had sufficiently the same interests, they have not, and never can have, a sufficient habit of taking counsel together." Steam and electricity, though they have destroyed distance and rendered communication easy, have not, however, destroyed the natural conditions of the territories included under the British Empire all over the world. Besides the fact that the British type has altered slightly in the various continents which the Britisher has occupied, we have also to take into consideration the French element in Canada, the Dutch element in Africa, and the teeming, countless millions of India. Could all this discordant mass with different fiscal, commercial and domestic systems be supposed to possess any common interests, beyond a common enthusiasm for the British colours, a common and abiding loyalty to the British crown? Supposing a definite Imperial Council were established, what functions could be assigned to such a body? Obviously it could not legislate for the whole Empire, nor tax it, nor even appoint an executive for it. As yet the only questions that are of imperial interest are (1) common defence, (2) foreign policy and, perhaps, (3) commercial policy. Is any constitution with deliberative chambers necessary for carrying out any of these purposes? Military and foreign affairs are best taken out of the pale of popular discussion. There is great conflict of opinion as regards commercial policy, as to the desirability of a British *zollverein*. Granting that such an institution is desirable, it is wise not to intrude it in the framing of an imperial constitution. The Australia Commonwealth Act was by many regarded as a prelude to a complete commercial and fiscal union within that great continent. But signs have not subsequently been wanting to show the enormous difficulty and the bitterness of feeling which stand in the way of effecting such a union.

Unless, in fact, there exist common interests and common knowledge among the members composing the federation, mere sentiment will not avail as the basis of political institutions. It may help very much to strengthen an existing organisation ; but, unless the organisation itself is, at bottom, the result of common needs, and desires that are of an abiding character, it cannot stand. As yet, the common needs of the Empire are so few and so uncertain that it may well be questioned whether, on such a basis, any new imperial institutions could be erected with profit. We must also be on our guard not to overstrain this common imperial sentiment by any premature schemes which may lead to unexpected difficulties. It is perhaps wiser to nurture this feeling and to strengthen it, that it may avail in times of danger and difficulty ; and when, in due course of time, such common needs as are necessary to found a political organisation arise, this sentiment may form a useful factor in the formation of imperial institutions. At present "it is surely wiser to let the constitution grow as heretofore by usage and by positive reforms based on experience, rather than to attempt, in pursuance of a great idea, fundamental changes in a system full, no doubt, of theoretical imperfections, but which, nevertheless, works surprisingly well."

Are we, then, justified in regarding this great idea of imperialism as a mere sentiment incapable of any practical fruit at the present day ? I think not. We have seen how this sense of common loyalty and common needs has been successful in creating, out of discordant elements in British North America, a federal State which, as evidenced by its conduct during the recent war, is one of the strongest supports of the Empire. We have been witnesses of how the various colonies of Australia, mainly through the strength of a common national feeling, have been able to form a federal State out of places so divergent in their resources, so different in their commercial and fiscal systems. We have yet to see, and we hope we shall see in the not distant future, the colonies of South Africa united into a federation in which the Dutch and the English, laying aside their feelings of bitter animosity against one another, will be proud to be reckoned as common and equal citizens of a vast Empire.

With the growth of imperialism within the Empire, there has, therefore, been a tendency towards unification between colonies and territories adjacent to one another—the movement of course being based, in the first instance, upon common necessities and desires. It is hoped also that, throughout the Empire, such a unifying movement will make itself felt between adjacent colonies, before a common imperial federation can be regarded as within the range of practical politics. There can thus be no questioning the fact that in this direction—the federation of neighbouring countries—the imperial spirit has achieved noteworthy results.

In another way, too, this grand ideal of the citizenship of a world-wide Empire has been extremely useful. It has been the proud privilege of the great colonies and dependencies to disprove the assertion of the Cobdenists that they were only a burden to the mother country. At the present day, they not only contribute substantially to the profits of British trade, but they have voluntarily undertaken to bear a portion of

the cost of the defence of the Empire. And the assistance with which the Colonies voluntarily came forward during the present war has been the spontaneous outcome of the Pan-Britannic feeling. In this direction the work of the Imperial Federation Defence Committee is very noticeable.

The place that India occupies in the British Empire is quite peculiar. It is not, on the one hand, in the same position as the colonies. It cannot, on the other hand, be treated as a field for European colonisation. Far less can its people be regarded as belonging to a lower stage of civilisation. "An educated Indian," an accomplished Westerner points out, "regards the English as masterful men who understand the art of government, to be sure, but who, in matters of culture, are mere children. What the West is striving for and struggling over, their oriental mind has solved long ages ago." Nevertheless, India occupies a low place in the scale of political development. Her population consists not of a single race, but of different races, professing different religions and following different customs. India consists of some of the most fertile tracts on the surface of the earth, and her material resources are unlimited. In spite of this, her inhabitants are proverbially poor. It has been the glorious mission of Great Britain to undertake the task of governing this vast continent and to impose upon its people the *Pax Britannica*.

The pioneers in the work of Indian government were, however, not content with merely introducing peace and order into the country. They proceeded to their work in no narrow spirit. They were imbued with a sincere desire to raise the political condition of the Indian peoples, to treat them, in all respects, as become the citizens of a free government; and it was with this object in view that they began the policy of initiating the people in methods of self-government. Whether that policy should be consistently carried out at the present day, whether so far the results have justified the expectations of the authors, are questions of current politics, of which I shall have more to say in a subsequent paper. But, as bearing upon the question of Imperial federation, it may be permissible to express the hope that, following Canada and Australia, this vast dependency of India may, in time, be unified so as really to become the brightest jewel of the British crown. The sense of being subjects of a common enlightened Government, of being animated by a common and abiding loyalty to the sovereign must, in time, be certain to work hand-in-hand with the need for welding together the various elements in the provinces of India into a common national government.

It seems to me illusory to expect, out of the heterogeneous elements of the Indian population, the rise of an Indian *nation*. The area is so vast, the physical configuration of the various provinces is so different, the elements of the population are so varied in race, language and character, that a nation, as the term is understood in political phraseology, must, for long, be out of the question. It is, however, possible, and within the range of speedy realisation, to make of India what has been made of Canada. In the fulness of time, as the people get accustomed to the use of the political privileges which a free and enlightened Government has accorded to us, as they realise the responsibilities of self-government, each province of India with the local affinities of its population and possessing the administration of its own local affairs, and

each considerable Native State, with its Chief and his loyal subjects, may become part-States of a vast federation whose common government may well represent the common desire of the people to be accounted as citizens of this great Empire. It is my fervent hope and earnest wish that the imperial spirit will develop in India, not for any schemes of aggrandisement, but for the purpose of evolving, out of the present bureaucratic character of her Government, an internally united and well-governed dependency of the British Empire. At the present day, India, it is true, contributes a large share towards Great Britain's military expenditure, but it is at the bidding of her rulers. India has adopted a policy of free trade because England, desirous of satisfying her capitalist children, has imposed it upon her. The revenues of India are raised solely with reference to the needs which its English administrators consider necessary to be satisfied.

The circumstance that calls for attention in all this is the fact that the people of India have not yet obtained a sufficient voice in the administration of their country. "Most good judges," a great living historian has said, "will agree that the great danger that menaces it (India) is to be found neither at Calcutta nor at St. Petersburg, but at Westminster. . . . It is to be found in acts of injustice perpetrated by Parliament in obedience to party motives and to the pressure of local interests." That India should submit meekly to such acts of injustice is of course due to the low stage of political development attained by the great majority of her population. It needs no saying that the experiment which a State, distinguished above all others for a free government, is making in India, must ultimately end in the establishment of a free government here. And it is in contributing towards this result that the growth of the imperial sentiment and the progress of the Imperial Federation movement are of importance to India. If we perceive the importance to us of being citizens of a free Empire, it behoves us to realise more and more clearly the feeling of Common Imperial Citizenship which has already begun to dawn upon us; it behoves us to watch, with the same absorbing interest as the colonies, the progress of the movement for unifying the Empire; it behoves us, before aspiring, in the counsels of the Empire, for a place equal to that of the self-governing colonies, to take great strides in the march of political development. We must try to forget local jealousies and class interests, and foster that spirit of self-reliance and self-sacrifice which would entitle us to govern ourselves. We must be animated by the sense of the common citizenship of the Empire, by the sense of common loyalty for the British throne, by the sense of oneness, notwithstanding local peculiarities, with the other parts of the Empire.

I have tried in the previous pages, in a manner necessarily brief, to indicate the general aspects of the Imperial Federation movement, the results of the strong current of imperial sentiment that flows all over the Empire, and to show their bearing on the political future of India. As yet the question has not attracted sufficient attention in this country. It is regarded in the same spirit as any question of English domestic politics—with a sense of, perhaps, lively curiosity, but with no appreciation of its true importance to us.

An Imperial Federation, I have stated already, does not seem to be within the range of practical politics at present. It does, however, seem that some sort of common organisation for the Empire will have to be established very soon. It is, therefore, necessary for us to inquire what part India should play in such an organisation. Not many in India or in England realise to the full the fact that India is a considerable factor in any scheme of imperial organisation.

What is the position which India must hold in an eventual federation of the Empire? What is to be her place in the counsels of the Empire? What is to be the constitution of India under such conditions? These are questions which are usually ignored or dismissed with a few trite remarks. The question of an Imperial Federation, say they, does not concern India. It concerns Great Britain and her colonies merely. India is a dependency of the crown, and its institutions or status require no consideration or comment when dealing with the question of federation.

It is obvious that such a solution of the question ignores certain fundamental problems of the federation movement. It is needless to state that India is Britain's largest possession in the world. Its area is nearly ten times as large as that of the United Kingdom, and its population is nearly eight times that of the British isles. Its revenue amounts to nearly as much as that of the wealthiest country in Europe. Its commerce with England is yet more important. It stands first among the British possessions that contribute towards the profits of British trade, and stands only next to the United States and France in the volume of trade carried on with the United Kingdom. Its costly and huge military forces form a substantial portion of the total military and naval strength of Great Britain and are available much more easily than those of the self-governing colonies. Its administrative service opens out a field not merely for the entertainment of a large number of Britain's children but also for the display of their best-governing qualities. That a possession offering such material advantages ought to be looked upon by far-seeing statesmen as the most important one in the growing Empire is only a reasonable expectation.

There are, however, weightier reasons for claiming for India a prominent place in imperial questions and schemes of Imperial Federation. Differences of opinion might exist as to the immediate need for, and the particular way of, reforming the political institutions of this country. But there can be no manner of doubt as to the fact that the present system of bureaucratic government is more or less a transitional stage in the political evolution of India. The mission of Great Britain in India does not end merely with the establishment of peace and order, with the introduction of a strong and highly centralised administration, of uniformity and equality in administering justice. It is, on the other hand, a more onerous duty imposed upon her to give plenty and prosperity to the poverty-stricken millions of this great country, to give to its peoples the benefits of a free government. In short, it is her glorious mission to work out the political as well as the economic evolution of India.

Yet another important consideration weighs still more strongly in favour of the view indicated above. Alongside of the changes in poli-

tical ideals and methods which have been indicated at the beginning of this paper, there has also occurred an alteration in the scene of political action. As nationalism has at the present day given way to imperialism, the scene of international politics has drifted from the West to the Far East. The centre of international complications, in which not merely the Great Powers of Europe but also Japan and the United States are so keenly interested, lies in Asia and not in Europe, in China and Central Asia, and not in Turkey and Eastern Europe. Even the Afghan question has, for the time being, been merged in the Chinese question. The progress of imperialism at the present day necessarily involves a fierce competition among the European Powers for the settlement of the unoccupied parts of the earth's surface, for the exploitation of all the available wealth of those regions. We are thus able to see how the opening up of China is fraught with such important consequences to the future of the world. The realisation of the importance of the above remarks will enable anybody to perceive the necessity that there exists for Great Britain to strengthen her position in India.

Such a strengthening does not depend upon the increase of military forces and defences in this country. It does not depend upon carrying to a greater extent the already extremely centralised character of the government. It depends, on the contrary, upon the admission of a larger number of Indians into the real governing body of the country. It depends upon mitigating the poverty of the majority of the population by well-considered schemes of economic improvement. It is on her successful and sympathetic government of this vast dependency, on securing to herself the loyalty and the devotion of India's children, that Great Britain's honour and glory—nay, her moral greatness—rest. "If the belief of the great masses of the Indian people," Mr. Lecky significantly remarks, "in the essential integrity and beneficence of English rule is ever shaken, one of the chief pillars of our power will have been destroyed."

If the sense of danger to the progress of the British Empire from foreign rivalries and jealousies has drawn the colonies closer to the mother country and has suggested the idea of Imperial Federation, the sense that that danger lies in the Far East, in China and Central Asia, ought to make England rise to the occasion by trying to draw India closer to herself by introducing judicious reforms into the government of this country. The lines along which such reforms should proceed, the ideal that they ought ultimately to aim at, may be treated in another paper.

A. RANGA SWAMI.

AN ADVERSE FATE.

(THE STORY OF AN INDIAN SINGER.)

Chapter I.

IN the innermost recesses of the temple, facing the shrine of the dreaded Shri Mata, sat Ganesh Puranik. The shadows of night had long stolen into the ill-lighted and badly ventilated room, darkness was rapidly settling down outside, but with only a single oil-stoop and floating wick to lighten the gloom, the singer maintained his solitary vigil. The silvery chink of the cymbals kept monotonous time to the *kirtan** he was reciting, and his voice rose and fell with the varying cadence of his song.

From time to time he cast a look as of inquiry on the face of the idol. The large glassy eyes of the goddess seemed to him hard and pitiless. They were fixed on him with a stony stare that made him shift uncomfortably as he reflected on his loneliness in the dreaded presence; and as the tiny light near by flickered and spluttered with every passing breath of air, the reflection was mirrored in them like a gleam of wrathfulness that distorted the mis-shapen features of the great deity. Still he continued his unvarying chant.

In the midst of his invocations a sudden and startling thought suggested itself: What, he asked himself, if the great Shri Mata were unexpectedly to address him! It was no uncommon thing for her to make manifest her wishes through the *murlis*† whenever she demanded any great sacrifice, and she was known to be in one of her worst moods just now. Ganesh felt his flesh creep at the very thought of such a possibility.

"Holy Mother," he prayed in secret, as the thought grew in intensity, "spare thy servant; forgive one who has worshipped at thy shrine faithfully all these years."

He gazed wistfully for long at the grim features, as if hopeful of a favourable reply; and as his look intensified, that which he dreaded apparently came to pass. A great darkness settled over the room, a thousand tiny lights rose dancing before his transfixed vision, and from the depths of the chamber a cry as of a horrible demoniacal laugh that grated on his nerves, shook the rafters and echoed again and again through the empty building.

* "Kirtan," religious song.

† Singing and dancing girls dedicated to Maratha temples.

Smitten with sudden panic, Ganesh Puranik fled hurriedly from the room. He was trembling in every limb when he reached the outer courtyard, and had to mop the beads of sweat from his brow. Never before had such an experience befallen him; never in his life had he beheld so terrible a vision. It boded no good when the *Shri Mata* laughed. Of that he felt sure, and so for long he tried to make out the mysterious meaning of that awful manifestation. At length he bathed his face at the fountain near which he stood, and prepared to quit the temple. Spite all his religious fervour, he had not the courage to face again the deity alone.

The night was pitchy dark as he stepped out of the roughly flagged court into the deserted roadway. Most of the shop-keepers in that busy quarter had already boarded up their business premises and gone home. Here and there, however, a faint light visible through the chinks revealed a solitary inmate reading aloud to himself passages from the *Bhagavadgita*; or the tinkle of a little bell and a waving lamp drew attention to some pious baniah doing *pujah** at the little niche wherein reposed the ochre-stained *penates* which presided over his fortunes during the day. The scenes were to him the familiar evidences of every-day life, and he paused not nor stayed to contemplate them. His only thought now was to get home as quickly as possible to the meal which he knew must be already awaiting him. How the gentle Sonabai and the mother would open their eyes in wonder when he related his strange experience in the temple! He could already picture them to himself, staring in wonderment at him, and his mother then rising and passing her hands over each one in turn to remove the baneful influences of the spell. The house was a poor place, only a couple of rooms, in one of which the cooking was done; but then he was a poor man himself, only a singer, a reciter of *kirtans*, who had been used to this sort of thing from childhood. He was only humble Ganesh Puranik, whose hands were cumbered with an aged mother, a wife and an infant son; and his thoughts centred round these his dearest possessions.

Latterly, it is true, he had often had grave moments of doubt about his ability to make things go on much longer as they had done hitherto. The failure of the rains had brought famine into the land, and grain as a consequence had risen to four and five times its normal price. Added to this there was the plague, that pest of humanity, which was devastating the town and carrying off its hundreds of victims daily. The place was nearly deserted, and the attendance of worshippers at the temple had fallen off considerably: as a consequence also the income of the *kirtan* singer had diminished to vanishing point. Even now, as he walked along, wrapped in his own musings, the dread cry of the corpse-carriers fell on his ear and sent an icy shiver to his heart.

"Jai Rama!"

"Shri Rama!"

"Jai Rama!"

"Shri Rama!"

The sounds and responses rose in a *crescendo* as the bearers approached. The words, all too familiar to him, had but one

* "Pujah," worship.

meaning : plague ! That was the mighty destroyer at work among the doomed population of the city ; plague . . . the very thought of which paralysed the limbs.

"Holy Mother save me, protect me," he murmured, turning aside into a by-lane to avoid meeting the procession, and drawing his *dhotur* more closely round his head and over his mouth. A strange sensation of uneasiness possessed him, and the longing to be at home, to wash off and purify himself from the feeling of uncleanness which the nearness of a corpse had given him, made him quicken his steps. As he went along, the evidences of the dire visitation increased at every step. A broad red cross, clumsily drawn on the whitewashed walls and a printed label, "Not to be opened," pasted across the door front, showed plainly where cases of plague had been discovered. The houses were in every instance empty, with great gaps in the roofs where the tiles had been removed to allow of the sun's rays penetrating to the dim, damp interiors ; of the inmates none were visible : the pestilence had in most cases claimed them, some being dead, some possibly in hospital, and the remainder spending their days of probation in the segregation camp. How long, he wondered, would he escape the terrible disease ? And then his wife, his child, his mother ? The awful experience of the temple recurred to him, and he seemed in a moment to realise the full force of its significance : the great mother was still unsatisfied, her anger yet unappeased, she would have more victims. The remembrance added fresh weight to the dread that was already weighing him down.

At length he reached the *wada* or courtyard on which his house abutted. The gate stood ajar—a most unusual thing at that hour—and he entered without summoning anyone to unfasten it. But even as he set foot on its damp floor, the consciousness of something strange and unusual in his surroundings struck him. Everything was as still and as silent as the grave.

For a moment he stood irresolute ; but then, stepping to one of the rooms on the ground floor he called to his friend Luxumanrao Nagarkar who lived there. There was no reply. He called again ; but still the summons remained unanswered. Approaching the door, he then discovered to his horror that it was locked. With trembling haste he turned away to his own narrow staircase, and ascended rapidly. The door on the landing stood wide open, but everything inside was black and silent. He called out to his wife, but there was no answer ; and his mother, but still no reply came. Then he called out several times in succession, and his voice sounded hollow with suppressed emotion. A cold blast from an open window revealed to him the fact that that aperture, usually blocked with bottles and rags, was bare, and looking upwards, he observed that there was no roof above him. He groped about for some well-known object the touch of which might familiarize him with his surroundings, but nothing came to his hand. The place was as empty as if it had never been occupied. With a cry of anguish he hurried down again into the courtyard. His foot struck a heap of warm ashes, and laid bare some glowing embers which leapt into a small flame. He paused a moment beside the

glowing pile to discover its cause, and thought he could recognise the smell of burning cloth. As his eyes wandered back to the house, the fitful gleams of the tiny light illuminated the fatal *red cross* painted on his door, and the awful truth, surmised at first, now flashed on him in all its dread reality: *There had been plague in his house.*

Quitting the courtyard, the now distracted Ganesh made his way to the opposite side of the street, where he proceeded to rouse Nilkant Agashe, the schoolmaster, from his slumbers.

"What has become of my family, Agashe?" he asked when the latter appeared.

"Eh!" exclaimed the other in surprise, "Did you not know that your wife and mother were taken bad with the plague and had to be removed to the hospital?"

"What! my wife and mother have the plague?" queried Ganesh incredulously, as if unable to comprehend the other's meaning.

"Yes," repeated Agashe. "It was only about four o'clock this afternoon that they were taken away. Did you not know it?"

"No," answered the other sadly. "No one told me. I was in the temple and have only just returned home."

"Well, that is really very unfortunate," said Agashe in commiseration. "While passing your house on my way back from the bazar, I saw the European soldiers go into Laxumanrao's house and then into yours in search of plague cases. One of them soon after came out and called the lady doctor on duty, and she went upstairs to your rooms. A peon was next sent to bring the plague cart, and your wife and mother were removed in it to the plague hospital. Laxumanrao and his family have been sent to the Segregation Camp."

"And the child? What has become of the little one?" asked Ganesh with a choking in his throat.

"The boy was allowed to go to the hospital with his mother," answered Agashe, with a compassionate sigh.

Chapter II.

For a few minutes Ganesh remained silent, staggered by the suddenness of the blow that had befallen him. Then, turning abruptly away from his friend, "I am going to the hospital to see them," he said laconically as he walked away.

"The soldiers won't allow you to go inside," his friend called after him as he hurried along; but the warning fell on deaf ears.

The plague hospital occupied a large open space some distance from the town. It had at first consisted of a single thatched shed about 30 by 12 feet with a native hospital assistant in charge; but as the disease spread new sheds had sprung up rapidly, until there were now nearly a hundred such, which gave the place the appearance of quite a little colony. There were now three European doctors in charge, ten European nurses, twice that number of native hospital assistants, and a hundred and more native servants, male and female. Still, in spite of all that was being done, the mortality was something awful, and from among the seven hundred patients or so in the hospital, thirty to forty

deaths had to be recorded daily. In the town the death-rate was quite treble this number. People walking in the streets oftentimes dropped dead on the pavements, and the bodies of plague stricken persons, abandoned by friends or relatives, were daily discovered at the street corners.

The root of the evil lay in the almost childish dread the people entertained of the plague hospital. To go to it with them meant to go to almost certain death, and rather than run the risk, numbers preferred to die at home sooner than be poisoned by the *Sivcar*, or have their caste broken. The devices employed to escape detection at such times might, under other circumstances, have stirred in one feelings of admiration and respect for the devotedness and self-sacrifice they entailed; but judged by the standard of Western education, to Europeans, dwelling in their midst, they seemed only acts of supreme folly. For a poor labourer to prefer to carry a grievously stricken wife in his arms every morning to a distant part of his field and there tend her in secret instead of taking her to the hospital, was to them an act of wilful murder. And when at last the almost inevitable result came about, and the strong limbs and brave arms of the husband themselves hung limp and nerveless, or else clutched convulsively in the delirium of high fever at the few rags that composed the bed-clothes, a feeling almost akin to anger would vent itself on the misguided folly that had led to such a result. The end nearly always was the same. The searchers coming round one fine morning would discover two corpses marked with all the evidences of the terrible disease lying in different corners of the small dwelling; and one, or mayhap two half-clad toddlers, seeing them enter, would shuffle painfully along the floor to their feet and gaze up wistfully with sorrowful, tear-stained faces as if imploring their kindly assistance in their trouble.

Ganesh Puranik knew very well where that dreadful institution, the plague hospital, was. He had several times passed it at a distance, and had seen the patients wheeled into it on small hand carts. The very name had been a terror to him, but now, strange transformation! he hurried towards it. Every now and then his impatience got the heels of his prudence, and he broke into a run; until, hot and exhausted, he arrived at last at his destination.

A native soldier, cane in hand, stood on duty at the entrance, but Ganesh, too full of his own trouble, gave him no heed. The all-absorbing thought in his mind just now was to get to his wife and child, to see how they were, and to derive some little assurance that they were safe. With this idea dancing in his head, he hurried along and ran almost into the arms of the man.

"Where are you going?" demanded the soldier in rough tones. The interruption was so sudden and unexpected that Ganesh for the moment was unable to answer, distinctly.

"I—I am—going to my wife," he gasped at last, and then attempted to move on.

"Here," said the other detaining him by the arm, "you cannot go in there. Your wife is not there."

"What?" said Ganesh in surprise. "My wife not here? Isn't this the plague hospital?"

"Yes, this is the plague hospital; what of that?"

"Agashe, the schoolmaster, said my wife had been brought to the plague hospital. She is inside, and I want to see her."

"No, you cannot see her," answered the soldier gruffly. "It is too late now; come again to-morrow morning."

"No, no, I must see her now: I must," replied the singer impatiently. "Who are you to gainsay me. My wife is inside, I want to see her, and I will," saying which he brushed past the man and walked some distance into the enclosure.

The other, however, was not to be so easily done. He sprang after him in an instant, and had him by the shoulder. "You have not to go in there, do you hear?" he shouted savagely.

"Who are you to deny me entrance," demanded Ganesh, himself roused to anger by the man's opposition. "My wife is inside, and I want to see her. Who are you that you interfere with me? Take your hands off, I say."

"Never you mind who I am," answered the soldier forcing him back by degrees. "I have my orders from the *Sircar*, and I cannot allow you to go in."

"The *Sircar's* mother be scratched; I don't care a fig for the *Sircar*," shouted Ganesh in high rage. "I will go in at any cost."

"You won't," answered his opponent quite as determinedly, at the same time raising his cane with a menacing gesture, and grasping Ganesh by the throat.

Peaceful though the singer's occupation was, he had yet enough of the Old Adam in him to make him resent any unwarranted attack on his person. In an instant he had grasped his assailant by the waist, and despite a shower of blows, bore him backward several paces. The struggle promised to be a hard one, but it was fortunately cut short by the opportune arrival of another member of the guard.

"What's up?" inquired the newcomer, separating the combatants with difficulty.

"This son of a demon wants to go inside, and I won't let, him," said the first soldier retaining hold of Ganesh's collar.

"Son of a demon you," retorted Ganesh hotly, "my wife is in the hospital and I want to see her."

"Friend," said the new-comer soothingly, "we cannot allow you to go into the hospital at this hour without a pass. Our orders are strict: we can let nobody in at night. You must come again in the morning and bring a pass."

"But," protested Ganesh slightly mollified, "my wife is inside. She was brought here this evening."

"I daresay, friend, your wife is inside and is being well looked after. No harm will come to her, I assure you; but we cannot let you go in without a pass. Bring a pass, and you can go in and see your wife. We don't wish to prevent you."

"Where am I to get the pass you want," asked Ganesh in sore bewilderment.

"From the plague doctor who lives in the big plague camp on the Harischundra Road," answered the peacemaker. "It is pretty far off, you know."

The place indicated was fully three miles and more due south of the hospital where he then stood; the city lay between them; but heedless of the distance and strong in the hope of the ultimate success of his mission, Ganesh agreed to start immediately for the place.

"I shall go and bring you the pass you want," said he turning away, "Will you then let me in?"

"Aye, aye, that we will," answered the man readily. "We are well quit of the fellow for to night, I'll wager," added he, as Ganesh disappeared down the ill-lighted street. "He won't return in a hurry to molest us, you may rest assured of that."

Chapter III.

As usual with the encampments of European soldiers in India, the place to which Ganesh had been referred lay in an open space, clear of the city, from which it was separated by a wide belt of uninhabited country. It was only a temporary arrangement, fitted up to meet the convenience of the soldiers employed in plague work, and could be pulled down and removed to other parts at the shortest notice. There was nothing strange, therefore, in finding large fields of sugar-cane bordering it, and a series of *nullas* or shallow watercourses leading off from one side in various directions. About a mile beyond it rose a range of low hills which stretched away in ever-heightening spurs that merged at last in the western ghauts; and a country rich in natural vegetation, but stern withal and rugged, succeeded, forming a strong contrast to the gentle undulations of the plains beneath.

The moon had risen and was shining in unclouded splendour by the time Ganesh reached the camp. He had never approached the place before, and was rather startled when a brusque summons to halt reached him from some one he had not till then seen. Not knowing what to do he stood quite still in the shadow of the tamarind tree under which he was, and waited for the man to resume his backward march. Then slipping out he hurried along again, but was seen and stopped ere he could enter the camp. Not understanding the situation, simple-minded Ganesh went up to the young sentry, and speaking in Marathi, said he wanted a pass.

"Blast me if I ken understand yer lingo," said Her Majesty's redcoat, dropping into the regulation pose to resist an attack. "Be yer friend or inimy, that's wat I wants ter know. Wat d'yer want here?"

"I wish to see the doctor saheb," said Ganesh, still using the vernacular, and bringing in the only English word he knew, which fitted his own language as well.

"Git out o' this; jao, jildee; or I'll put yer in the guardroom," said Tommy, wholly unable to comprehend him. "There's naw doctor here."

Ganesh tried again to make himself understood, but to no purpose; and when in his ignorance he attempted to enter the camp in search of some one else, he at once roused all the young soldier's suspicions.

"Now here, git out o' this here camp, I say," he said using the butt-end of his rifle to thrust the man forth. "We wants none o' yer

thievin' niggers hangin' round. Git out, jao, yer darned black head. Out o' this; jao, jildee."

The abashed Ganesh retreated slowly before the unprovoked onslaught, his ears tingling with shame and rage at being struck thus—like a common low-caste pariah, as he considered it.

"Why do you strike me?" he demanded angrily at the second thrust of the weapon. "Am I a dog that you treat me so."

"Jao jildee!" was the only response he got, and he walked away, slowly and discontentedly, pondering his grievances and cursing the brutality, as he conceived it, of the English.

By natural impulse he turned homeward once more. It was already past midnight when he reached Agashe's house, but he paused nevertheless and called to him several times. Receiving no answer, he went to his own door and sat down on the stone step.

Daylight found him in that position, haggard, sleepless, and talking to himself. He heeded not the passers-by, but continued to speak like one deranged by his troubles and sufferings. Ever and anon he rose up and went into the deserted house; but only to return after a time to his old position, always repeating: "She's gone; they have taken her. She and the child and the mother. They have all gone, all been poisoned. The English soldiers have taken them. May their mothers be ruined, the despoilers of my home!"

Seeing him, a knot of young men gathered together in conversation a short distance off. They were students in the Government High School, and were qualifying for future degrees, to be followed in all likelihood by positions as clerks in Government employ. The prevailing taint of the Indian educational system, was, however, in them, and at once they had their cue.

"An example of English oppression," said Ganpat Phansay, the leading spirit among them. "This comes of their intolerant treatment of natives. Why do they not leave us alone, when they know very well that quite half the number of those they take to the plague hospital die of fright, while the others, as some say, are poisoned to save expense?"

"You speak truly," said Vinayek Sathe. "It was but yesterday that Sirdar Lekhni's brother was taken away. He had very high fever; but when the search party came round his relations sat him down at a writing desk with a pen in his hand, to make pretence he was well and engaged. He might have escaped detection, had he not in his delirium tried to walk, when he fell down and was, of course, discovered." An exclamation of sympathy interrupted the speaker. "He was at once removed," continued Sathe, "and died on the way to the hospital. The family were all segregated, but that very evening Sirdar Lekhni himself, and his wife Surya Bai, had to be taken to the hospital, and both died within a couple of hours after their admission."

Ejaculations of pity were heard on all sides.

"Every little sickness, even common fever is now put down to plague," chimed in a third speaker after a short pause. "We have an example in the case of Balwant Phadkey, who had a bad cough and slight fever for at least a fortnight before the plague authorities

ordered his removal to the hospital. He went there, poor fellow ! very unwillingly, and died on Sunday, I am told.

"Yes, and look at Ganesh Puranik's case," resumed Phansay. "It was only last evening that his family was removed, and the three are already dead, they say."

The speakers held their peace as Nilkant Agashe, the school-master, came out of his house and went up to the poor forlorn singer.

"Come and have something to eat, friend Ganesh," they heard him say. "You have been fasting since midday yesterday. My heart aches to see you grieve so."

"I do not want anything of yours," said the singer. "Give me back my wife and child. What have you done with my son ? You have helped to kill them, you and the English doctors."

Agashe tried gently to take him by the arm, but the singer furiously cast him off.

"Do not touch me, you and your vile tribe !" he said in frenzied tones as he started to his feet and stood away.

All that day Ganesh roamed about the streets, muttering to himself like one distraught. The sun beat down in merciless fury on his shaven, exposed head; but he heeded it not. No morsel of food, not a drop of water had passed his lips since the previous day; but the pangs of hunger were dulled by the pain of that greater grief gnawing at his heart. Anger, hatred, and a burning desire for revenge were now the feelings that swayed his will. By a train of reasoning, not difficult to explain, the European soldiers were associated with his trouble, particularly the one who had treated him so roughly the night before. Once during the day he came unawares on a plague search-party, but the sight of the soldiers scared him to such an extent, that he rushed off to hide himself in an opposite direction. Towards sunset, a complete change seemed to come over him, and instead of wandering aimlessly about, he walked into the Bazar, quenched his thirst by asking for a drink of one of those drawing water at a well, and purchased some fruit to temporarily satisfy the cravings of hunger. Then he sat down under a tree and waited.

Darkness found him crouching in concealment among the sugar-canes of the field nearest the camp. There was a wild sparkle in his eyes, and the sublustrous glow of steel showed in his hand. Sounds of music and laughter rose from the encampment; a large fire was burning brightly in the centre, and round about it in recumbent ease sat and smoked the English soldiers after their day's toil. Comic songs and jokes, bandied about, helped to beguile the time; but gradually, as the hours flew by, the fire burned low and one by one the sounds were hushed, until silence at length fell on the camp. The first faint beams of the rising moon began to reveal the outlines of things near at hand: it would soon be bright moonlight all round. A slight rustling of leaves, as if stirred by a passing wind, was faintly audible, and the canes then slowly parted. Swiftly and silently the singer stepped out and sped across the intervening space. For one brief moment he hid himself behind the trunk of the self-same tamarind tree where the night before he had stood. A steady, measured step approached. The singer

grasped closer his knife, and as the soldier drew into line, sprang out on him. A single savage blow, a wild piercing scream, followed by a hollow mocking laugh, and the deed was done. The body struck the ground with a dull thud, and casting his weapon from him, the singer bounded out of the camp and plunged into the thick crops surrounding the place.

A few minutes later the camp was a scene of wild confusion, the wounded man was carried into a tent, and mounted scouts scoured the country in all directions in search of the culprit. All to no purpose, however : the singer had got clear away.

(To be continued.)

S. A. KENNEDY.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

**The Law of
Karma in the
Affairs of Life.**

Few things can be more consonant to the forlorn conditions of human nature than the craving for divine indulgence. Especially in certain stages of man's progress, when he has attained the conception of an all-powerful Lord whose will can be propitiated by prayer and praise, is the appeal for mercy and forgiveness most natural. But a time comes, to all but races imbedded in an ice-field of custom, when this feeling is rudely shaken by the teaching of experience. Men begin to doubt whether sin can end in anything but sorrow, from which no power can save them: they cannot so much as forgive themselves. And even where remorse failed punishment would inexorably follow, and the punishment would not be entirely confined to the demands of strict justice, being largely vicarious. The sins of the father are visited upon the children; nations are afflicted because their rulers erred in earlier generations, like the Romans of the Augustan age, who lost their liberty by reason of the violence of Marius and Sulla, and who were told by Horace, with a truth unusual in a society poet, that they were paying the penalty of their ancestors' old offences. The reason of this is not that the world is ruled by chance, but rather that it is under the Reign of Law. There is nothing mysterious in the matter, nor any ground for invoking the help of theology: it is a mere affair of cause and effect. Certain acts are bound to have certain consequences; to cite a few words from Fitzgerald—

The moving finger writes ; and, having writ,
 Moves on ! Nor all your piety and wit
 Can lure it back to cancel half a line,
 Nor all your tears wash out a word of it.

We may not deserve blame ; even our predecessors may have been more weak than wicked. English history is full of instances; the irreconcilable attitude of the Irish nationalists is not due so much to lack of justice or of benevolence on the part of the Government of

to-day as to mistakes and misdoings of the past. So in the case of the weary war in South Africa : looking at the present only, many would say that Paul Krüger began the conflict. But, as Sir Walter Scott has well said, " the blame of a quarrel lies not with him who struck the first blow but with him who gave the first provocation." Had the British Government in bygone years been consistent and sympathetic in their treatment of the Dutch Afrianders, these simple farmers might long since have become loyal subjects in the Cape and Natal, and good friends elsewhere. Krüger, no doubt, dealt many a blow to British interests and feelings during the past twenty years; but look at the provocations of earlier times, ending in the annexation of 1877, which Mr. Chamberlain himself pronounced to have been based on erroneous grounds, and which was carried out with broken promises. And so of all the troubles in which the Empire of Edward VII. is encompassed—what are they but the inevitable fruit of former errors? As regards India, for example, what unbiassed person can fail to observe how great a price this country has to pay for the annexation policy which set in with Lord Ellenborough? Put in terms of money, the amount can be almost exactly assessed. In 1840 the total of Indian taxation was a little over five crores of rupees; in the next twenty years the figure had well-nigh trebled, in addition to which there was a considerable amount of provincial rating. What the aggregate of local and imperial revenue, apart from the State's share in the rental of land, is coming to now, is rendered a little uncertain, owing to the absence of accurate reports from municipalities; but it must be at least double of the 1880 total. Since Lord William Bentinck retired—without any official recognition—the area of the Empire has very much expanded. Ellenborough added Sindh, Dalhousie gathered in Oudh, the Panjab, and other Provinces, and the whole scale of administration became more elaborate, complicated and costly, until our rulers to-day are almost at their wits' end to furnish ways and means, and it is seriously questioned whether the people as a whole have enough to live upon. And all that anxiety and trouble are evidently the consequence of the departure from the old policy of the Company, and the adoption of a too ambitious programme. Thus, in whatever direction we turn, we see the same law at work and learn the same lesson. There is no immunity from the consequence of sin.

CURRENT EVENTS.

LAST month we had some interesting "foreign politics." The foreign politics of British India consists generally of dealings with protected princes and with frontier tribes. Lord Curzon, who has spoken so strongly in the past on the sporting proclivities of Native Princes, could not have gone to Hyderabad merely for shooting tigers. He must have aimed his rifle at other game, which will, no doubt, be stuffed and placed in the political museum in due course. Finance has not been the strong point of Hyderabad. The strings of the public purse ought not to be handled by delicate fingers. If H. H. the Nizam will always remember the doctrine of the conservation of fiscal power, which teaches that you cannot be generous in one direction without being oppressive in another, the English officer in whose hands the power of the purse is now placed may be expected to staunch the "bleeding" and improve the strength of his Highness' treasury.



The deposition of a Maharaja seldom fails to evoke sympathy, but the policy of the most humane testament must at least take away a kingdom for a life. Madho Singh of Panna was charged with an offence not against a British Officer, but against his own uncle, and an appeal to the judgment of a peer was to be desired more for that kind of benefit which it so often brings to an accused person than for justice: yet it would have been an act of grace, and a compliment to native rulers generally, if on the Commission that tried the Maharaja there had sat one of his own peers. There is no doubt, however, that the position of the Government of India would have been very delicate, if the English members of the Commission had found the accused guilty, and the Native members had acquitted him. Perhaps Lord Curzon chose the lesser of the two risks.



There are two ways of subjugating the tribes on the North-West Frontier: the one by the use of ammunition, the other by the use of rupees. By the former we add to the triumphs of war, by

the latter we add to the triumphs of peace. At Peshawar, Lord Curzon explained with his own lips to the Chiefs, Khans and Maliks, the principal features of the policy of his Government towards them. The British Government had not the smallest desire to interfere with the religion or the independence of the trans-border tribesmen. On the other hand, they would be paid allowances to keep the roads and passes open, for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and for the punishment of crime. Their young men would be provided with military employment in the local levies and militia, and thus enabled to earn good wages for the maintenance of their wives and families, instead of turning *budmashes* and loafers. The railways would make for peace and security, and open up trade. The hardest and the most restless mountaineers ought to be pervious to the influence of trust and treasure.



Representatives from various parts of India have gone to England to attend the Coronation of King Edward VII. Who could have dreamt of such pilgrimages when Queen Victoria of blessed memory came to the throne? The Native of India does not know what it is to see the grey head of an Englishman, said Burke. We may not see more grey-headed Englishmen here than our great-grandfathers did, but the facility with which we can see them in their own land, in a way, makes up for the misfortune which an earlier generation deplored.



There was a Cæsar in South Africa.

He hath left you all his walks;
His private arbours and new-planted orchards,
And to your heirs for ever, common pleasures,
To walk abroad, and recreate yourselves.
Here was a Cæsar! when comes such another?

Strange to say, Rhodes, who remembered Germany and America in his will, forgot India! Did he wish that the black races should eventually make room for the white in the land of pagoda trees, or did he believe that India is a mere land of coolies, contributing nothing to the greatness of the race to which he belonged? We shall make the more charitable of the two suppositions.



A large-hearted and conscientious statesman, the late Lord Kimberley was a source of strength to the party to which he belonged. With India he was thrice officially connected, once as Under-Secretary of State, and twice as Secretary of State. Though his name is not associated with any measure or document of lasting interest and importance to this country, and though he was not in complete accord with all the views advanced by the political organi-

sations of the Natives of India, yet on subjects like the military expenditure charged against the Indian Government, the separation of judicial from executive functions, the continuance of the jury system and municipal government, he held and expressed views which were much appreciated by our political reformers. Though the distinction of Liberal and Conservative has not proved to be of much practical value in Indian politics, there are times when one wishes that men like Lord Kimberley were at the head of Indian affairs.



The behaviour of Glasgow mobs, Belgium rioters, and even of Russian students, shows the docility of the mild Hindu in strong contrast and grateful relief. The Moharum and agrarian misunderstanding were responsible for a little disturbance of the public peace in two or three places, last month, in India. But the riots, as they are technically called, passed away without the firing of a single shot. Our students, indeed, sometimes get sulky, they strike work, and may even make speeches. But they know not what it is to handle a firearm, unless the crackers fired at Dipavali be included under that description. Certainly, no Director of Public Instruction, even if no educational commissions shed light on his path, will ever have to pay for obstinate high-handedness the penalty which the unfortunate Minister of the Interior had to pay in that rotten State of the Slav.

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MEDICAL AID TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

THE recent inauguration of the Victoria Scholarships Fund, by Her Excellency Lady Curzon, has awakened fresh interest in the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India. It seems a favourable moment, therefore, to discuss the subject on broader lines than can be expected from the Annual Reports of the Association, the seventeenth of which has now been published. Notwithstanding the excellent work done, and the progress made in many directions, the divergence from the original idea on which the Dufferin scheme was based—under the Countess of Dufferin's able guidance—has led to much that arouses criticism in the work now done in Dufferin hospitals, and threatens serious danger to the scheme if a radical change of policy is not speedily forthcoming.

We have learned curiously little about the daily life of the women of India, after so many years of rule in the country. And yet their law of *purdah* is the phase of manners and customs—common to the divers races throughout Hindustan—which appeals most to the sympathy as well as to the imagination of English men and women, and which we would most gladly help them to break through. The veiled woman of the East moves in an atmosphere of mysticism, and centuries of at least some measure of contact with the freest of her sex has not only failed to remove the jealous covering, but has not even stirred in her breast the desire to stand, like her Western sisters, unashamed before men, and share their right to bask in God's sunshine, and to wander freely about the earthly Paradise He has placed her in. An enlightened Mahomedan Prince, anxious to free his Princess wife from her prison in his palace, offered to brave custom and take her out. She implored

him piteously to take her life rather than to make her break her *purdah*. In so doing she voiced the feeling of ninety-nine out of every hundred of her sex throughout the length and breadth of the land. On the one hand, therefore, the picture is one of durance vile by reason of willingly-worn, if not self-rivettèd, chains. On the other, we have the admitted fact of the great influence wielded by the Indian woman, of her far-reaching counsel, of her acknowledged right to reign in her own person—when the *purdah* may be abandoned at pleasure—with a record of the careers of famous women whose mental and physical superiority seems to have been in no wise inferior to that of their noblest compeers in the West.

Sympathy and admiration, therefore, both urged our helpful interest from the beginning. But for many generations the impassability of the *purdah* prevented all chance of skilled medical help reaching more than an infinitesimal fraction of the women of India. But when, at last, the spirit of modern progress moved Europe to allow women to study medicine, and when, after years of disheartening attempts at equal chances of success with men in relieving suffering and the thousand ills that flesh is heir to, the position was gained, it was seen at once that India was a great field for woman's work in this direction. The seed was sown here and there by different methods and under varying influences. Missionaries, philanthropists and independent workers, seeking a livelihood, started centres of female medical aid in isolated parts of India—in some few cases with gratifying success. There were various indications that enlightened natives welcomed the prospect of procuring the benefits of Western science for their countrywomen. Madras, with its Victoria Caste Hospital and training schools; Agra, with its Medical College; and Bombay, with its liberal support to European lady doctors, were among the first large towns to provide this much-needed help. Calcutta followed suit when the excellent Maharanee Surnomoye, realising, to quote her own words, "the necessity for female medical tuition, female medical relief, and the supply of competent female nurses and midwives in India . . . placed a sum of money in the hands of the Bengal Government for the erection of a hostel attached to the Calcutta Medical College in furtherance of female medical education in Bengal." About the same time, at the instigation of Mr. and Mrs. Amir Ali, a scheme was

started to raise a sum of money amongst native gentlemen in Calcutta for the purpose of bringing out a lady doctor from England for the requirements of their own families. Besides this, some five-and-twenty or thirty lady doctors, holding different degrees, were practising in various parts of the country, the majority of them being connected with missionary work. It will be seen, therefore, that when, at the initiative of our late beloved Sovereign Victoria, the Countess of Dufferin, then Vicereine of India, urged that steps should be taken to bring medical help within reach of the women of India on a larger scale than could be attempted by independent labour, the time was fully ripe for "the sustained effort of an unsectarian and national character," that Her Excellency felt to be imperatively called for.

Towards the close of the year 1885, the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India had been fairly launched, and under the most auspicious circumstances. The problem of how best to achieve the desired object had been discussed by the ablest minds in the country. The complex machinery of a powerful Government had been set in motion, and in a remarkably short time the Central Committee was definitely established in connection with the Supreme Government, with local Committees in the Provinces and in Burma, as well as in all the leading Native States in India. Carefully organised meetings had been held in the chief centres all over the country, while an influential meeting at the Mansion House, London, had put the mother-country in touch with the movement, and awakened widespread sympathy and interest. The objects which the National Association was designed to promote were originally set forth in the Prospectus, and still stand, as follows :—

I. Medical tuition, including the teaching and training in India of women as doctors, hospital assistants, nurses and midwives.

II. Medical relief, including (a) the establishment, under female superintendence, of dispensaries and cottage hospitals for the treatment of women and children ; (b) the opening of female wards under female superintendence, in existing hospitals and dispensaries ; (c) the provision of female medical officers and attendants for existing female wards ; (d) the founding of hospitals for women where special funds or endowments are forthcoming.

III. The supply of trained female nurses and midwives for women and children in hospitals and private houses.

It is unnecessary to mention the clauses added later, as they are all incidental to the attainment of the main objects above specified.

Festina lente was necessarily the motto of the various Committees from the beginning. There is no country in the world as conservative as India. The confidence of the people had to be won, and time alone could do this. With full knowledge and understanding of the condition of things, of the prejudices to be overcome, and of the inertia to be met with, the foundations of the work it was hoped to accomplish in the future were laid by its promoters on a sure basis of financial prosperity. Funds flowed in as well as, if not better than, could have been expected, and in time a substantial capital was secured and carefully invested. The income from this was to be spent annually, together with such other moneys as could be collected. Donations for special objects, hospital buildings, endowments, scholarships, etc., were managed separately, and as year by year passed, the number of places where medical help of some sort was brought within reach of native women and children was materially increased, though they were, and still are, quite inadequate to the needs of the vast female population of the country.

It is unnecessary to trace in detail the work that has been accomplished by the Association. Seventeen years' steady and continuous effort has not been without its reward. The sufferings of ailing women and afflicted children have been relieved in a yearly increasing number of cases. From a few hundreds in the beginning we read of over a million and a half in recent years, and one's heart warms to those who have been instrumental in bringing about such happy results. There is probably no philanthropic scheme in existence, which owes so much to arduous, gratuitous labour as the Dufferin Fund scheme. The Annual Reports teem with evidence of time and trouble given unstintingly by the hard-worked Anglo-Indian official, including many of the leading members of the Indian Medical Service. Timely stimulus has been supplied by successive Viceroy. Vicereines, as Presidents of the Association, have lent themselves to forwarding the good work in every possible way

Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors in the different Provinces, and their wives, have vied with each other in furthering the cause and in collecting funds. The interest of individuals of both sexes, official and otherwise, throughout the country, has been enlisted and utilised in many details of the far-reaching organisation, while every effort has been made to keep the subject constantly before the public. It is not my intention, therefore, to cavil at the result of all this prolonged and unremitting labour. Let me begin by acknowledging that much has been accomplished, and take the matter as it now stands. *The present trend of things connected with supplying medical aid to the women of India, under the Dufferin Fund, is unsatisfactory.* Admitting that the difficulties of getting things as they should be, have been almost insuperable in the past, that mistakes were bound to occur, and that no one is to blame for them, it will nevertheless be well, while reviewing the present position, fairly and dispassionately, to see what may be done to improve the prospect of bringing the required skilled medical aid to the many millions of women and children still far beyond the reach of this much-needed help.

The case against the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India, as at present constituted, is a very strong one. Notwithstanding all that has been done—and much more that might have been accomplished—in the many years since the scheme was first mooted, Dufferin Hospitals are markedly unpopular, and this in all parts of the country where they have been established. In spite of the apparently large numbers of women and children treated through their agency in recent years, the majority of the buildings erected are almost always more than half empty. I have failed to discover a single instance in which the beds provided for in-patients are even generally all occupied, and the employees have never succeeded in attracting a tithe of the patients they should have had. Very few fully qualified English lady doctors have been employed under the Association, and these few generally found themselves so hopelessly handicapped in their efforts to do good work that, as the experience of the past shows, they resigned at the first opportunity in order to seek wider fields elsewhere. Others are so imbued with the idea of the impossibility of getting any chance of good practice under the Dufferin Hospital organisation,

that they decline to contemplate applying for any appointment connected with it. The material required to train for the various branches of medical work is got with the greatest difficulty, and in altogether inadequate quantity. The same trouble is experienced in attracting the nursing element, as well as the class of poorer native women willing to train as *dhais* for the practice of midwifery in the zenanas. Scholarships, donations, monthly payment to students, have all been tried, and with the poorest possible result. Enormous sums of money have been invested on hospital buildings and equipment, and a respectable yearly income is spent in keeping up these establishments, but, as yet, with no proportionate effect as regards the alleviation of physical suffering among the *pardah* prisoned women of India.

The reason of all this is not far to seek for those who have gone into the matter as outsiders, having no interests, professional or otherwise, to cloud their view of the subject, and who are yet able to bring an intimate knowledge of the country to bear upon the facts of the case and its necessities. *The whole cause of the trouble is the policy which has allowed the male doctor to take an active part in the work undertaken in Dufferin Hospitals.* It is true that the Association had no option in this matter at first, and were compelled to adopt the only possible course under the then existing circumstances. But the time has now come when the masculine element should be eliminated altogether on the medical side, and admitted only in connection with questions of administration, the control of financial affairs, the supervision of buildings, and such-like matters, for, until this is done, the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India will be unable to accomplish the work they undertook, or to meet the real needs of those for whom the whole scheme was inaugurated.

A clause in the rules, laid down by the Association from the beginning, states that the work must be done in "co-operation with the medical officers of Government." This, of course, was very necessary at the outset to avoid friction, but the principle has unfortunately been enforced to such an extent that Dufferin Hospitals seem to be now looked upon by members of the Indian Medical Service as a legitimate field for practice for Civil Surgeons and others, and they are beginning to advise the building or extending of a

separate female ward in Civil Hospitals rather than the founding of entirely separate female hospitals. Lt.-Col. J. A. Cunningham, I.M.S., wrote, in a letter to the *Morning Post*, dated May 28th, 1901 : "Why the poor sick female should be deprived of the advantage of a consultation or the benefits of an operation at the hands of the Civil Surgeon—a privilege which the most strict advocate of *pardah* is glad to pay for in serious cases in his own house—I fail to conceive." And another correspondent to the same paper wrote : "We must remember that the zenana section of a Civil Hospital is just as good as a separate female hospital ; and it is a much cheaper arrangement than the latter, and has the advantage of receiving the advice and supervision of the Civil Surgeon of the district. The Civil Surgeon could do most of the operations and could also give advice (in consultation) in medical cases, unless prevented doing so by the extreme rigidity of the *pardah*." That there was no small friction, at first, between lady doctors and medical officers of Government, will be seen from the manner in which it was found necessary to emphasise the position of the former in respect to the latter, in a paragraph taken from the Annual Report of the Association published in 1891, which reads as follows :—

"It is desirable to explain that the alteration in the provisions of the agreement, regarding the position which the lady doctors should occupy towards the Government medical officers authorised by the Association to act on its behalf, was rendered necessary by the fact that the paragraph in the original form of agreement relating to this subject had been thought to require no more than that lady doctors employed under the Fund should recognise the authority of the administrative medical officers or Deputy Surgeons-General in each province. The medical officers of Government, to whose exertions the Fund is chiefly indebted, are the Principals of Medical Schools, and the Civil Surgeons of Districts, and the Central Committee determined that a condition which could be interpreted so as to render lady doctors employed under the Fund entirely free from the supervision of these responsible officers needed to be reconsidered. The condition has, therefore, been recast so as to make it clear that where a lady doctor is employed in tuition at a medical school, she is subject to the general supervision of the Principal of the school, and that the position of a Lady Doctor in charge of a hospital

towards the Principal of a medical school, or the Civil Surgeon of a district, as the case may be, must be the same as that exercised by senior medical commissioned officers over junior medical officers in charge of hospitals supported by Government. In other words, it is incumbent on the lady doctor to report to the Principal of the medical school, where she is in charge of a hospital attached to a medical school, and to the Civil Surgeon elsewhere, the fact that a serious case has been brought to her wards, and in any case in which she may have doubt or difficulty as to treatment, to consult this officer as to the course of treatment to be pursued and to follow the advice given."

This sounds well enough as a mere question of departmental organisation, but it assumes an altogether different aspect when it is realised that a lady doctor employed under the Association, whatever her status, is bound to adhere to the instructions for the working of her hospital, given her by one whose professional interests may easily clash with hers. As a matter of fact, I learn from the Annual Reports, and from communications received direct from those personally connected with the work done in Dufferin Hospitals: (*a*) That nearly all the major operations performed have been done by Civil Surgeons, or Assistant Surgeons in charge; (*b*) that practically free entrance for inspection or otherwise is assumed by senior medical officers, and that even Native Assistant Surgeons have been called in to perform serious midwifery operations in district hospitals, or to take sole charge during the temporary absence of the lady doctor.

All honour to those medical officers of Government, who have strenuously endeavoured to carry out the intentions of the promoters of a great and good work, as well as to those who have freely given their knowledge and skill to mitigate the sufferings of the native women patients brought to the hospitals in their charge, and who have done their best to instruct the half-trained female Assistant Surgeon in her difficult duties. Their numbers are very great, their help and influence have been invaluable, and I repeat that none of these can be charged with blame for any failure there has been to achieve the desired end hitherto. The only question that need be considered is, how things may be bettered in the future. Where female wards, started or extended with the help of the Dufferin Fund, and connected with Civil Hospitals, are in existence and doing

sufficiently satisfactory work, there is no reason why they should not, as hitherto, be under the control of the Civil Surgeon of the district. There will always be a small class of native women willing to seek much-needed help in a hospital, even though they know they may be required to see the doctor *sahib*, just as there are a handful of wealthy enlightened natives who, in an emergency, will seek the services of an English doctor in the hope of saving the life of a beloved wife, however strict their ideas of *purdah* may be. But such cases, though time is bound to increase their numbers, are at present quite beside the mark in the all-important consideration of how to get medical help behind the barriers of the *purdah*, still so jealously guarded by the overwhelming majority of native women in India. The "sustained effort of an unsectarian and national character," honestly made by the Association during the last seventeen years, has satisfied the natives that there is no desire to proselytise, but it has *not* satisfied them that there is no desire to mar the sanctity of the *purdah*, which it is evident they feel to be the more important matter of the two. If not, how is it that mission hospitals, as I hope to show further on, succeed in every point where Dufferin Hospitals fail?

From the earliest days of the Association the Annual Reports issued reiterate, in a disheartened tone, the difficulties experienced in reaching *purdah* women, while the exceedingly slow progress made in this direction is the subject of recurring explanations as the years go by. The following brief extracts may serve to show something of the position :—

"In the Report for 1894 we read: 'The difficulty of persuading *purdah* women to avail themselves of the advantages of the Dufferin Hospitals is one which the Committee has continually before it, and the question of making fresh efforts to gain the confidence of *purdah-nashins* has again been seriously considered in communication with Lady Dufferin and Ava during the year under review. The fact that *purdah* women have not yet commenced to make use of the existing buildings, in such numbers as those working in the interests of the Fund could wish, cannot be denied. It would seem that sufficient attention has not been given in some quarters to the important work of visiting women in their own homes, and it also appears that buildings, if they are to attract *purdah-nashins*,

must be absolutely detached from the main hospital where non-*purdah* women are admitted, and must be strictly closed to males, whether for inspection or other purposes. At the same time, if but only moderate success in this direction has so far been achieved, the Committee is by no means discouraged. The prejudice against hospitals is a very deep-rooted one, and the fact that it would be a matter of years to break down the barriers, which prevent women from leaving their zenanas to go to a hospital, has never been concealed."

Again, in an extract taken from the Report for the year 1898: "In previous volumes the Committee has drawn attention to the well-known difficulty of persuading *purdah* women to make use of the hospitals connected with the Association, and in the last Report it expressed the hope that as special *purdah* wards and *purdah* hospitals were more generally constructed throughout the country, an increased attendance would be noticeable, as ignorance and suspicion were slowly overcome."

In the Report for the year 1899 Col. J. H. Hendley, C.I.E., I.M.S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in Bengal, in his remarks concerning the Dufferin Hospitals in his district, says :

"I have pointed out that as long as males of any kind are employed in a Zenana Hospital real *purdah* women will not attend. My inspections in 1898 showed many defects under the last head, and in some instances, I found at my visits in 1899, that improvements had taken place, but much remains to be done, and at present the provision of a sufficient number of female compounders is impossible."

It seems strange that while laying stress on the importance of excluding male compounders from female hospitals (a point on which the Report just issued shows continued difference of opinion), Colonel Hendley should maintain that Native women, willing to go to hospitals, should be visited at least once a day by the Civil Surgeon, or male Doctor in charge, as well as by the Female Hospital Assistant. In support of this statement he quotes the following remark of a Civil Surgeon: "Most of the patients (in the Lady Dufferin Hospital) hitherto admitted, required the performance of serious operations, which the lady doctor was not qualified by experience or training to perform." As a set-off to the above, Colonel

Hendley lays stress "on the advantage to be afforded by attendance of lady doctors in the homes of the people," and would endeavour to reach the *purdah* women by making the lady doctor or hospital assistant do more in the way of out-door work, and in the homes of the better classes. But, important as house visiting certainly is, it cannot be satisfactory unless there is proper superintendence of the work done in the zenanas. Another important point in the above mentioned officer's opinion—and which the present state of things seems to me to make it desirous to controvert—is that rigorous selection should be made of the cases admitted into female hospitals by lady doctors. He mentions an instance where the lady doctor keeps in her hospital cases he thinks should have been sent to the General Hospital. Colonel Hendley also enforces the idea of keeping the Victoria Hospital in Calcutta for *purdahnashins* alone. In consequence of the strict rule he insisted on in this case the fully qualified lady doctor in charge in 1899, finding that she had thereby very insufficient scope for her medical knowledge, left the institution and accepted a post in another part of India. I am glad to learn that matters have since been placed on a better footing in this most important hospital.

It seems unnecessary to go further into details of the present working of the Dufferin Hospitals, or to give any more particulars, to show that the trend of things is towards throwing as much of the work as possible into the hands of the Civil Surgeons, and to keep the lady-doctor branch of the work in a permanently subordinate position. However unconsciously this course may have been supported by the Central Committee, it behoves them to try another line if they would check a tendency which is bound to end disastrously as regards the realisation of the object in view when the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India was inaugurated, and which they are still pledged to maintain.

Letters from those interested have appeared from time to time in the daily press in India, criticising various points of the work done in Dufferin Hospitals; while more than one strong article on the subject has appeared in the columns of the *British Medical Journal*. But hitherto there has been no attempt at making any of the reforms suggested, nor is it likely that any thorough reorganisation

will be tried until pressure is brought to bear upon the Association from the lay side. It is nearly two years since the *British Medical Journal* pointed out that "in the interests of medical women it was clear that they should have representatives of their own sex and profession on the Committees." Until this is done—and it is very evidently the first step to be taken—there is no likelihood of matters being mended.

The following extract, taken from the Report for the year 1900, is an example of the light-hearted manner in which the most crying needs of Dufferin Hospitals are repeatedly set aside.

"In its last Report the Committee stated that it had been obliged to veto on the score of expense a proposal to appoint a medical woman as inspectress of female hospitals connected with the Dufferin Fund. This proposal has been again made during the past year, and it has, at the same time, been urged that a larger number of English lady doctors of the first grade should be appointed to Central Hospitals around which the smaller institutions should be systematically grouped. These suggestions, the Committee once more regrets, it is unable to entertain for the simple reason that it does not possess the funds for the purpose."

It is not a question of want of funds, but of the management of the annual income available on lines calculated to make Dufferin Hospitals all they were originally designed to be. The separate Female Hospitals now in existence must be fully staffed, managed, inspected, and controlled by women only. With nearly 400 medical women of various grades, mostly Hospital Assistants of very little education or training—for whom the title, lady doctor, is a ridiculous misnomer—it is altogether anomalous that only some fifteen English-born fully qualified lady doctors should be employed. The question is, whether skilled English medical women should be allowed to help their Indian sisters with the practical experience gained in the best London hospitals, or whether they should be steadily prevented from doing so. With regard to the manner of working to the best advantage with what must necessarily be a comparatively small number of fully qualified English lady doctors, I cannot do better than quote from a published letter on the subject written by Miss Staley, M.B., London, whose opinion is most valuable, since for many years she has been Physician and Surgeon in Charge of St. Stephen's

Hospital, Delhi, which mission hospital was established, and is maintained, by the Cambridge Mission on far superior lines, both in staff and equipment, to any Dufferin Hospital in existence, and is generally full to overflowing.

"One might suggest that in each Presidency there should be several 'Base Hospitals,' where a large and thoroughly competent staff of doctors (two at least of them English) should be maintained ; at such a hospital the female hospital assistants, female compounders, and *dhais* should get their experience, and from it should be supplied substitutes during the absence of lady doctors of inferior grade from their dispensaries. The senior doctor should be inspector of the branch dispensaries in her district and directly responsible to the Surgeon-General. She would be able to send down a consultant for difficult cases, or to assist in operating in serious cases, to obviate the very anomalous present plan of calling in the native Assistant Surgeon to perform serious midwifery or gynecological operations in the district hospitals of the Association (see Report for 1899)."

When some such plan has been adopted, we shall hear no more of the now constantly reported difficulty of getting native women to come forward for training as compounders, nurses, *dhais*, etc. I am credibly informed that respectable native women, suitable for such purpose, and likely to have their hearts in the work, will not be attracted by money or scholarships. Shy and retiring—with very special ideas of the modesty required of self-respecting womanhood—the native girl will not be trained under men, or enter a service where she will be subjected to any sort of contact with the opposite sex. This is one great cause of the failure to obtain suitable candidates under the Dufferin Fund organisation, although mission hospitals have constantly to refuse applicants, for all the above-named branches, when their numbers have been made up.

Another very serious error in connection with the present management of Dufferin Hospitals—to which I have already referred—is the principle of selecting cases for admission. The enforced exclusion of non-*purdah* women, or of such cases as Government medical men think should be obliged to attend the ordinary hospitals, has made Dufferin Hospital practice utterly inadequate, and has made it impossible either to benefit properly by the services of the very few English lady doctors employed, or to train up the material so urgently

required in all branches of female medical work, while inflicting a great wrong on respectable non-*purdah* women, many of whom will die rather than submit to treatment from men. Fully trained English medical men would not submit for a moment to the arrangement insisted upon where their feminine colleagues are concerned, and the idea of keeping any hospital in India for high caste men only would be scouted by them as it deserves. Besides this, Indian women, newly passed out from the medical schools, are put in positions of far greater responsibility than would be contemplated for any male doctor having equally little practical experience. This course necessarily throws a multitude of major operations into the path of Government doctors. But when once it is thoroughly understood that no person of the male sex ever enters a Native Woman's Hospital, there will be an end to all the trouble which now so hopelessly handicaps medical work among Indian women under the National Association. The fame of such hospitals, managed solely by their own sex, the absolute respect shown to the prejudices of the race, the reports carried far and near by hundreds and thousands who had benefitted by the skill of their Western sisters, or that of their own fully trained countrywomen, would assuredly penetrate the most hidden recesses of the *purdah*, and lady doctors would be summoned to treat those who could never be got at at all under the existing system, though aons should pass in the attempt. I have ascertained from various trustworthy sources that in mission hospitals, kept strictly *purdah* from men, and admitting every caste and class freely, if sick, there is always a large proportion of patients who are high caste, i.e., if the Hospital and Lady Doctors have a good name for really successful work, especially surgery. In these mission hospitals there is no difficulty in getting strictly *purdah* women of the Khatri, Kayast, Bannia, Brahmin, and Rajput castes to stay in, provided no men, even as visitors, are admitted, and if the patients are sympathetically treated. A letter now before me, from one of the leading mission hospitals in India, tells me that patients of all these highest castes have been regularly admitted into the hospital during the last four years, as well as some of the most exclusive Mahomedan women of the city. Were similar lines adopted in Dufferin Hospitals, it would not only put an end to the difficulty now experienced in getting native women to come forward for training in any and every grade

of medical work, but would remove the onus of unpopularity from them, and we should no longer hear of such things as a Dufferin nurse strongly dissuading her friend from entering the service, because she herself had only attended four confinement cases in two years, and had learned next to nothing, though attached to the leading Dufferin Hospital in the Province, and had found (not unnaturally) that very little was thought of Dufferin nurses.

With regard to the new scheme, promulgated by Her Excellency Lady Curzon, in connection with the Dufferin Fund work, for obtaining a better class of native women to train in the practice of midwifery on Western lines, as well as to make an attempt to graft improved methods on the often appalling practices of the indigenous *dhais*, it seems only too probable that the large sums of money already subscribed under the heading Victoria Scholarships Fund, in so excellent a cause, will be distributed practically in free presents to *dhais*, with very poor results, if the working of the Dufferin Hospitals is not first thoroughly reorganised.

The upshot of the whole matter is that India is not only a legitimate field for the work of English medical women, but that the end in view, according to the avowed tenets of the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India, cannot be obtained without their help. That they are fully qualified for the task, has been proved by the success of "The New Hospital for Women" in London, as well as by the known results of their work in many other directions. Here, as elsewhere, the fully qualified English lady doctor must be free and unfettered in the working out of the details of her profession; she must be given hospitals fully staffed and properly equipped; and her position must be recognised as equal to that of her confrères by suitable representation on the council of a body of philanthropists anxious to carry out, to the best of their ability, one of the noblest schemes ever started during the humane and glorious reign of our late revered Sovereign.

FLORENCE DONALDSON.

A PLEA FOR THE SOWKAR.

THE frequency and intensity of famines in India, causing destruction of life and property, have naturally directed the attention of the rulers and the ruled alike to the increasing poverty of the masses. Various causes are put forward, to which the helplessness of the masses is attributed, and various remedies are suggested for the improvement in their condition. The Sowkar, or the money-lender, comes in for his share of blame, and is considered by some as the sole, and by many as a chief, source of the ryot's misery. His suppression or supercession by some other agency is prescribed as the best possible remedy. He is held to be a veritable Shylock. It is seriously believed in some quarters that his dealings, if allowed to grow unchecked, may constitute a political danger inasmuch as the ryots, reduced to the position of serfs by his appropriation of their property, must eventually degenerate from a peaceful and industrious yeomanry into a disappointed and disaffected rabble.

So strong is the current of public opinion set in motion against the Sowkar that it is almost impossible to stem the tide of prejudice. Even an attempt to obtain a hearing for him is likely to be misunderstood.

And yet, after all, a Sowkar is a citizen of the British Empire, and is entitled to a hearing before being condemned. He pays his income-tax, his halalkhor cess, his octroi duties, his succession or court-fees and all other direct and indirect levies with regularity and with the least grumbling or demur. He is loyal by reason and law-abiding by nature. It is his interest to see that order is established and turbulence repressed, and he is thus an unpaid servant of the Crown, who tries his best to inculcate the doctrines of peacefulness, obedience and loyalty. He has the capacity to

observe, to compare and to decide. And it does not require much effort to find out where his real interests are.

The influence of the Sowkar over the ryots is great indeed. He knows their manners and customs. He knows their weak and strong points, and despite his so-called usuriousness and callous ill-will, he is trusted, consulted and sought after by those who are called his victims. Whatever may be the reasons, it is patent that the ryots, though robbed and kept down, do resort for loans to the Sowkar rather than to a beneficent Government, whose hard and inquisitorial rules for the repayment of loans far outweigh the small benefit derived from a low rate of interest.

A Sowkar may be accommodating, but he is more than that. He enters into the feelings of the ryots, sympathises with them in their sorrows and extricates them from their social and political difficulties arising out of the unchanging rules of the caste or the ever-changing laws of the State.

A class of money-lenders, such as this, which commands the confidence of the masses and wields its influence in the interest of good government, is an important factor in society, which ought not to be lightly abused or ill-used. It must be remembered, before condemning this class as a contributory cause of some future political danger, that it is precisely from this very class that Government draws its public servants and derives a considerable portion of its revenues. It is also through this class that the good intentions of Government are made known to the masses, who are generally ignorant and unwilling or unable to learn.

Even though a Sowkar may cease to be a land-holder and all his lands are transferred to the ryots, he yet remains a money-lender. And his influence, even as a money-lender, is not small. If, again, he ceases to be a money-lender, he still remains a unit of the empire, and a unit that knows and feels that his occupation is gone. The policy of depriving this whole class of money-lenders of their legitimate occupation without finding proper ways and means for their future struggle for existence, is, to say the least, a policy fraught with serious results.

The sins that are usually laid at the door of a Sowkar are his ruinous rate of interest on loans and his transfer of money into the ryot's land.

It may at once be conceded that the rate of interest has a tendency to rise. But there may be other causes than the greed of the Sowkar for this increasing rate of interest. And, after all, the usury may, in the long run, turn out to be more apparent than real in a majority of cases. Let us take a concrete instance and find out what the Sowkar actually gets as interest on his loans in spite of the usurious rate stated on paper.

A., a Sowkar, lends Rs. 100 at 25 per cent. interest to a ryot, B., under a mortgage without possession of a survey number. The ryot B. turns out to be contumacious and unwilling to return the loan. The limitation runs for 3 years, before the expiry of which time A. sues B. for the loan of Rs. 100 *plus* Rs. 75 as interest, and the matter is dragged to the High Court on some technical points of law. The case generally takes 3 years to reach the final stage when the suit is decided in favour of the plaintiff. But, even after the decree is obtained, the Sowkar is bound to recover, if he can, his money within 12 years only, after which period, even the decree of the High Court becomes void. Let us, however, suppose that, after the sale of property of the defendant, the plaintiff is able to realise his whole money within 6 years from the date of the decree. Be it remembered that the interest on the loan ceases from the date of the filing of the suit. Though, therefore, the money-lender is accused of charging interest at 25 per cent. and is fully awarded his claim, he loses his interest for 9 years. Evidently, then, his 25 per cent. interest vanishes, and the Rs. 75, which he first claimed as interest for 3 years, must be spread over 12 years in all. The Sowkar thus gets $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per year. This is not a very high rate of interest. But even this rate of interest is not the actual one. For no sooner does he resort to the civil court than he has to spend money which does not bring him interest. This may be considered an extreme case; but it is only in these extreme cases that high rates of interest are charged by the creditors and accepted by the debtors. It may also be contended that a Sowkar cannot always have bad customers. The reply is that he may have very few such customers, but he may have also worse, who cheat him out of his loan and his interest alike. A Sowkar may be earning a thousand rupees per year from his money-lending business, but he has generally to strike off about Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 as bad debts. And even a Sowkar has to live,

according to his higher standard of living. He has, moreover, to pay interest to richer bankers and to maintain his family and its reputation and his own credit.

It has been a natural impulse of generosity in these calamitous times to commiserate the poor ryot and to try to alleviate his hard lot. But will any philanthropic man be pleased to enquire how many Sowkars have been hopelessly ruined and reduced to bankruptcy and penury on account of the death or poverty of their debtors? The answer, it seems, will be prompt. Where is the room, it will be asked, for sympathy with a hard-hearted Shylock who has lost his ill-gotten gains? Simple justice, however, demands that it should be proved that a Sowkar is a hard-hearted Shylock and that his gains are ill-gotten.

Except the Koran, there is scarcely any past or present law that forbids a capitalist earning interest on his capital; money-lending *per se* is not a dishonourable profession. And the rate of interest is regulated on the principles not only of demand and supply but of the risks and difficulties or otherwise of the recovery of loans. Let us now see what difficulties a Sowkar has to encounter and what expenditure he has to incur on the prospects of the recovery of his loan.

The tables on the next page will show the expenses which the parties have to incur from the date of the filing of a suit for Rs. 100 to the date of final decree.

To obtain a decree of Rs. 100 in the court of first instance the plaintiff has to incur an initial expenditure of at least Rs. 14, if the case is uncontested. In a contested suit, however, the expenses of the parties rise to at least Rs. 19½ per cent. in the original court, and Rs. 46½ per cent. if the case goes in appeal to the District Court. If, by some chance, the case goes up to the High Court for decision, it is no exaggeration to say that the expenses mount up to about 90 per cent. In this calculation the costs of journey to the original or District Court, of the applications that may be necessary to be presented to the courts for postponements, &c., of the issue of summons to more witnesses or to the same witnesses if the first processes are not served, have not been taken into account. Suffice it to say that no application is received by the civil court unless it is accompanied by a stamp of eight annas or presented in person or by a pleader or recognised agent.

But even if a decree is obtained, the expenses for its execution have yet to be incurred. The law as regards this execution of decrees is, firstly, that if an application for the execution of a decree is not made, every year, a notice to the defendant must precede the order of execution; secondly, that if it is not made for three consecutive years, the decree becomes null and void; and, thirdly, that whether the money is recovered or not, the decree becomes a dead letter after 12 years.

Expenses in a suit for Rs. 100
when not contested.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Court fees	...	7	8 0
Vakil's fees	...	3	0 0
Vakalatnama	...	0	8 0
Summons fee to the de-	...	0	8 0
fendant	...	0	8 0
Summons and bhata to	...	1	8 0
witnesses	...	1	0 0
Copy of the decree	...	1	0 0

Total ... 14 0 0
Expenses in a suit for Rs. 100
when contested.

To the Plaintiff.

Court fees	...	7	8 0
Vakil's fees	...	3	0 0
Vakalatnama	...	0	8 0
Summons to the defend-	...	0	8 0
ant	...	0	8 0
Summons and bhata to	...	1	8 0
witnesses	...	1	0 0
Copy of the decree	...	1	0 0

Total ... 14 0 0

To the Defendant.

Written statement	...	0	8 0
Vakil's fee	...	3	0 0
Vakalatnama	...	0	8 0
Summons and bhata to	...	1	8 0
witnesses	...	1	8 0

Total ... 5 8 0

Grand Total ... 19 8 0

Expenses of the District Court
in a suit for Rs. 100 if the de-
cision of the lower Court is ap-
pealed against:—

To the Appellant.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Copy of the judgment of	...	2	0 0
the lower Court	...	7	8 0
Court fees	...	3	0 0
Vakil's fees	...	3	0 0
Vakil's retaining fee or	...	3	0 0
consultation fee	...	0	8 0
Vakalatnama	...	0	8 0
Summons to respondent.	...	0	8 0
Copy of the decree of the	...	1	0 0
Appellate Court	...	1	0 0

Total ... 17 8 0

To the Respondent.

Copies of the judgment	...	3	0 0
and decree of the lower	...	3	0 0
Court	...	3	0 0
Vakil's fees	...	3	0 0
Vakil's retaining fee or	...	3	0 0
consultation fee	...	0	8 0
Vakalatnama	...	0	8 0

Total ... 9 8 0

Grand Total .. 27 0 0

It thus becomes absolutely necessary for the plaintiff to apply for the execution of his decree once at least in a year, if he does not wish to lose his money, by giving official and timely intimation to the defendant that his property is to be attached, and thus allowing him ample time to conceal or dispose of his property as best he can. And this annual application for the execution of a decree, even though the plaintiff knows that there is no property of the defendant to attach, means an increasing burden on the plaintiff or the defendant.

It is true that all these expenses are thrown on the defendant. But that simply stands on paper. There is no guarantee that either the loan or the interest or the expenses will be repaid by the defendant. Thus, in the process of litigation, the ryot's debt is nearly doubled, and the money-lender stands where he was, with the interest on his loan and his further outlay gone. Is it wise or statesman-like, it may be asked, to double the debt of the poor ryot whose only faults are his inability to pay off the original loan and his foolishness in listening to the advice of self-seeking touts who thrive on litigation? It may be argued that there is no compulsion to resort to civil courts, and that the extra expenditure is the result of the defendant's own choice. In the case of the plaintiff, however, he has no choice. He must go to the civil court or lose his money. In the case of poor ryots, their ignorance, their credulity and their poverty may well excuse their readiness to be lured by the bait held out to them.

Government desires, in its revenue policy, to have direct dealings with the ryots. May not the same policy be extended in the case of debtors and creditors, both of whom are children of the same *Mâ Bâp*, with benefit to both and credit to Government? It is hardly permissible to a parent to profit by the quarrels of his children or to create for them an inextricable labyrinth of laws, codes, acts and regulations, from which there is no escape for the foolish children. Moreover, there does not appear to be any necessity for intermediaries in the form of pleaders if the laws are simplified and the assistance of village panchayats is availed of. For, after all, whence is a great part of the income of the pleaders derived, if not from the pockets of the ryots either directly or indirectly? The Sowkar charges interest, usurious interest if you like, on his loan; there is at least one thing to be said in his favour. He has lent his

money, and has various risks to run before recovery. But there seems scarcely to be an excuse for the creation of a class of intermediaries in money-suits when Government does charge more than 10 per cent. on every suit whilst dispensing justice. Comparisons are odious, but one is tempted to cite Manu, who orders the payment of a fine of 5 per cent. to the State if the debt is admitted by the defendant, and 10 per cent. if it is not (chapter 8, page 139). The laws of Manu may not be suited to the present state of society, nor to a civilised Government of the twentieth century ; but, surely, a leaf may be taken even out of an antiquated law book, if the ryot's load of increasing indebtedness is to be lightened.

In these times of enlightened administration, however, every money-lending transaction is taxed from the first day of its coming into existence. A loan of a hundred rupees requires an eight-anna stamp for the bond to be executed. Three years after, when the bond for the original loan and interest has to be renewed, the stamp-duty will be one rupee. The Stamp Act prescribes a stamp of one rupee on all bonds from Rs. 100 to two hundred rupees. The ryot does not understand why Government should charge these ever-increasing levies in form of stamps on his debts which he repays and for the recovery of which a creditor has not entered even the portals of a civil court. Nor is it clear to a Sowkar why Government should be pleased to tax a suit before recovery of the loan and throw a heavy load on the over-burdened ryot with whom they so much sympathise.

Even in the case of an honest debtor, who admits the debt, but pleads poverty as an excuse for his inability to return the loan, there is no suspension or remission of Government fees, although the equally honest money-lender, who does not claim more than his moderate rate of interest, is ordered to take his money by instalments. The creditor goes to the court to obtain full payment of his loan. The debtor goes there to obtain some relief or remission. Neither gains his object, though the courts and the intermediaries are benefited. The spectacle of a court of justice cutting down the claim of a money-lender and yet adding to the burden of the ryot would be laughable if it were not also very painful.

Surely, it behoves a benevolent Government to set an example of practical sympathy with the debtors by foregoing a part of its revenue

thus derived, or at least by postponing the collection of the fees till the debtor is able to return the loan. An example thus set will not be wholly lost upon the Sowkars when secured against certain expenses for a prospective gain, nor upon pleaders whose real interests lie in the support of the mainstay of the incomes of their parents, friends or relatives. They will certainly not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, and will be true to the Hīndu proverb of extracting the jewel without killing the cow if they are convinced that neither the goose nor the cow will be killed by somebody else.

As regards difficulties in the recovery of his loans, the Sowkar has no path of roses lying before him. The limitation on a simple bond runs for 3 years. If he fails to get the bond renewed or to go to the civil court, he is time-barred, and his money, lawfully lent, vanishes simply on account of this 3 years' fiction. He may have been ill, he may have unconsciously missed the time, or he may have awaited his debtor's arrival from distant parts or his recovery from a serious illness; in short, he may have deferred to put the law in motion with the most natural or humanitarian views; but none of these causes will avail him, thanks to the cast-iron rules of our civil courts.

Even after the suit is filed within the proper time, he has often to place himself in the clutches of the minions of the civil courts for the payment of *bhattas* and service of summons, and during the execution of decrees a decree-holder is entirely at the mercy of these people.

The decree-holder cannot attach certain properties in execution of his decree. He can be hoodwinked by the debtor transferring his property to a neighbour or even shutting his door almost in the face of the officer of the court.

His application for the attachment of immovable property of ryot drags its slow and tedious course from the civil to the Collector's court and from thence to the Mamlatdar's court amidst buffets and insults and probably illegitimate expenses.

And even after the property is sold and purchased by himself with the permission of the court (as required by the C. P. Code) for want of any other bidder in the village, the question of possession entails a great deal of time and worry, and as likely as not goes against him, and brings all his expenses, all his troubles and all his humiliations to nought. The ryot may have sold or mortgaged his land to some other creditor, whose appearance at the last moment

is either the signal for a fresh suit or a death-knell to all his hopes of recovery of his debts.

Even if he obtains possession of the property sold in execution of his decree at the full price fixed by the revenue courts, the money-lender is not safe. For here the village union steps in in self-defence. He is not an agriculturist, and nobody in a village will till the soil of which he has obtained lawful possession if the debtor is determined to remain its virtual occupant. Though violent or active and open opposition by a debtor and his friends is an exception in these times of law and order, his passive, dogged resistance often gains the day without bringing him within the purview of the criminal court. But if this sort of resistance proves ineffective against a resourceful creditor, the defeated debtor, like the vanquished Boer, resorts to the tactics of guerilla warfare, sometimes cutting off the ripening crops, sometimes burning hay or stealing corn, and often intimidating and belabouring the retainers of the Sowkar. And whence is the Sowkar to adduce evidence to bring home the charge against an incendiary, a thief or a mischief-maker whose midnight prowls are neither foreseen nor revealed, but may have been guessed by the villagers who are generally unsympathetic, if not inimical, towards the interloper? Ultimately, therefore, the Sowkar has to sue for peace and to settle his dispute with his own debtor, and has to trust to his good-will and his need for a future or further loan. There are, indeed, cases where the poor and helpless ryots are crushed by unscrupulous money-lenders; but there are not wanting instances where even the strongest creditors are victimised.

Recourse to civil courts being thus expensive, risky and slow, and uncertain in results, it is not strange that for the recovery of his loans, the Sowkar, intelligent and business-like as he is, manages, wherever possible, to settle his dispute with his debtor privately and amicably. At the time of giving a loan or settling the accounts, the money-lender quietly and seriously induces his debtor to part with his land, promising to return it when the loan is repaid. Nor is the ryot an unwilling party to the transaction. For he understands, or is made to understand, that his inability to return the loan is taxed in civil courts and that the attachment of his property is equivalent to the shrinkage of his credit socially and economically. Many of the sales of occupancy land may be accounted for in this way. They

are not actual sales. They are merely evasions of the slow and expensive civil law. It cannot, therefore, be said, with truth, and in all cases, that by such transfers the ryot is reduced to the position of a serf and the money-lender is elevated to that of a land-holder. It is not the interest of the money-lender, whose money-power is great, to accept for himself the ridiculous position of a land-holder without the ability to personally utilise the land. As a money-lender he is master of the ryots. As a land-holder he is their dependent. Besides, in metamorphosing himself into a land-holder, the Sowkar incurs the responsibility of punctual payment of Government assessments and of all the petty transgressions of the revenue code. And yet he is not secure in the punctual payment of his rent by the ryots. Moreover, the rate of rent on lands purchased for certain sums of money is in all cases less than the rate of the interest on the same amounts. And as it is not always easy to capitalise a landed property thus secured, the Sowkar loses the command of ready money in proportion to the price he has paid for the ryot's land. And absence or insufficiency of ready money is positively injurious and may prove disastrous to a Sowkar. Still the Sowkar accepts this unenviable position only to avoid a greater evil and to eke out his livelihood. "The frequent transfers of property, both by sale and mortgage, in districts to which the relief acts apply," may be traceable to the same or similar cases. An inquiry into the *de facto* and *de jure* owners of occupancy rights of Government lands and the rates of interest disguised as rent may be interesting as showing how much land has actually passed from the agriculturist to the money-lender. General averages derived from the registration office or from the sales of civil courts, without inquiring into details, may be fallacious and are certainly defective.

It may be admitted that alienated holdings have a tendency to, and do, pass from their agricultural and non-agricultural owners into the hands of retired Government servants and rich money-lenders. These lands are not saddled with full assessments and are not subject to enhancement of Government dues. They are only charged with 2 annas in the rupee of the Government assessment, and have, therefore, a market value. They carry with them full proprietary rights, and are sold and purchased at full price. There are certain other concerns where investments are made, but in the moffusil, at

all events, preference is given to alienated lands. Though they are comparatively costly and yield no more than 3 or 4 *per cent. per annum*, they are nevertheless a safe investment for the purchaser and a free inheritance to his heirs. This preference for alienated land is not due to a desire to be land-holder or to screw out money from ignorant folks, but to a well-reasoned determination to avoid the expenses of law suits and the risks of litigation. Take an instance of two persons, each owing Rs. 25,000, with the only difference that the one has invested his money in Government securities or in some profitable and prosperous concern, and the other has invested it in alienated land. On the demise of the latter, his only son comes into possession of the property which is transferred to his name, and which, even if not transferred, continues to bring him his rent without any interference of the civil or revenue courts, or without any expense. On the demise of the former, however, his son is not recognised as the owner of the property either by Government or by companies, though he is the only son of his father, unless he obtains the certificate of heirship from a civil court. And a certificate of the court for Rs. 25,000 means an expenditure of about Rs. 600—five hundred of which are claimed by Government as fees at the rate of Rs. 2 *per cent.*, and the rest by pleaders and courts as their fees and stamps. To this may be added the not very impossible contingency of an unexpected litigation, arising out of a misunderstanding among members of the family to whom summons are served to show cause why the certificate should not be granted to the applicant. Under these circumstances, a wealthy man may be pardoned if he elects to transfer his money into property in alienated lands.

It is not the intention of this paper to throw the sole responsibility of the present state of affairs between ryots and Sowkars on the Government. Government enacts laws with the best intentions and for the greatest good of the greatest number. The framers of these laws are actuated by noble motives and do their best to collect and digest the most reliable information, and, with a full sense of their responsibilities, evolve laws which, in their opinion, are the best suited to the people and the least vexatious. Besides, in a progressive society, an enlightened Government is bound to meet the various calls upon its purse. And whence is this money to come, if not from the resources of the people? At the same time, it ought

not to be forgotten that a money-lender alone is not responsible for bleeding the ryots. Ensure a safe and a less risky and less expensive method for the recovery of his money, and the money-lender is sure to lower his rate of interest. Let there be more of justice and less of law, and then see if the result is not satisfactory. At least give an opportunity to the much-misunderstood Sowkar to show that he is not outside the pale of Hindu society, whose contentment is proverbial.

It cannot be said that the civil courts, as at present constituted, hold out any such opportunity or administer pure justice between contending parties. They administer laws whose intricacies may well appal Sowkar and ryot alike, when the most learned judges differ in their exposition of rules, sections, and sub-sections. How much time and energy are wasted and how much money is thrown away in finding out the intentions of a law-giver from sections of a law when the law-maker himself is alive and can explain his meaning in a couple of minutes? It would appear that if this constant wrangle of words, unintelligible to laymen, were to give place to a serious search after truth, much good might be done to keep expenditure and risks within reasonable limits. Be that as it may, cheap, simple, speedy and sympathetic administration of justice is more likely to conduce to the welfare of the ryot than all the laws put together with their additions, corrections, alterations and provisions.

M. GOMAJI.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN—A STUDY.

(Concluded from our last issue.)

BUT is it such an evil to be misunderstood? We do not understand ourselves: he is a fool who thinks that he understands himself. Constituted as we are, and constituted as the world is, could we prevent others from misunderstanding us? Should one try such an experiment, I, for one, would not consider him a wise man. It is so in the order of God's universe that whenever we take a step forward, it is not others only who do not understand us, but we escape being understood by ourselves also. And when *we* do not understand ourselves, how can we expect others to understand us? It is not so in God's order. I could not wish that it were otherwise. The deeper a man goes into the being of God, the more he gets out of the sight of others as well as of himself. Such is the penalty we must pay for being deep; deep and wise. Christ paid it, Socrates paid it, and every deep and wise man before and after them has paid it. Who would wish that this law could be changed in his favour? Let him be shallow, let him be foolish, and he will be understood better. But if he is ready and willing to be led up to heights unattained or down to depths unfathomed, he must not wish, at the same time, to be understood by others or by himself. Every man of action knows this, and every poet and writer. We know not what we can do even just before we are going to do something. God does not give us to know it. We begin to write, and if we want to write under inspiration, write deep things, and deep things cannot be written except under inspiration. We are surprised at what we could write after we have written it, and not before. Why? We had thought out the matter as best we could, and we thought there was nothing more to be added, but as soon as we began to write we found there was not only much to be added but much to be taken

away also ; nay more, that some views had to be altered, and if we must write deep things we must be bolder and give up certain of our preconceptions and prejudices and be willing and ready to be corrected and to receive new light and new interpretations. Every poet, who is a true poet, knows this, and every writer, who writes under inspiration, must confess this. We do not know ourselves, we cannot know ourselves as *we* wish to, and Carlyle was right in calling in to question the wisdom of the precept "know thyself." "Know what thou canst work at," said he. Yes, so much knowledge is given us as is necessary to begin work, and more knowledge is added by-and-by. Keshub was at his best in his extempore orations, sermons and prayers. What he wrote was tame in comparison with what he delivered extempore. Then he gave himself up to influences higher and deeper than he himself, and spoke of things of which he had had no idea before beginning to speak. There is very little method in his discourses ; they are rhapsodies rather than logical disquisitions, and the unconventionality to be noticed in the language was the unconventionality of the man—he was not himself then, but an instrument in the hands of a higher Power, to be used by itself for purposes of its own. There are different kinds of unconventionalities, and we ought always to distinguish the unconventionality which proceeds from depth of character from that which is the opposite of it. The unconventionality of writers of "profligate novels" or of profligate men, the unconventionality of great talents but proud, disdainful, easily-provoked natures—that was not Keshub's unconventionality. He was the shyest of men, afraid to please people as much as to offend them, and his unconventionality proceeded from his *reverence* for truth, from his *love* of God.

If his extempore utterances are a study in faith, spontaneity, whole-heartedness, sincerity and unconventionality, they are also a study in the genius of the mystic. "Much of the wisdom of the world," said Emerson, "is not wisdom, and the most illuminated class of men are no doubt superior to literary fame, and are not writers. Among the multitude of scholars and authors, we feel no hallowing presence ; we are sensible of a knack and skill rather than of inspiration ; they have a light, and know not whence it comes, and call it their own ; their talent is some exaggerated faculty, some overgrown member, so that their strength is a disease

In these instances the intellectual gifts do not make the impression of virtue, but almost of vice ; and we feel that a man's talents stand in the way of his advancement in truth. But genius is religious. It is a larger imbibing of the common heart." The same writer, speaking of Henry Hallam, says : " He is unconscious of the deep worth which lies in the mystics, and which often out-values, as a seed of power and a source of revelation, all the correct writers and shining reputations of their day. " Books," I quote from the same writer again, " are for the scholar's idle times. When he can read God directly, the hour is too precious to be wasted in other men's transcripts of their readings." I have said that Keshub was not a scholar, and yet he used to read much in his younger days and was then looked upon as a learned boy. But as he grew older, became more and more himself, he heard the command " Put thou the scholar's promise by," and the boy was absorbed in the man who " read God directly " night and day. He was not what, in Oxford, they would call a trained writer, though he has written much, and he was not, I have said, a trained speaker, though he has spoken incessantly. And yet he had the genius of which Emerson speaks. It is the genius of the mystic. He belonged to that " illuminated class of men who are superior to literary fame." An insight into this characteristic will be at once offered in the following words which I quote from his lecture : " Am I an inspired Prophet ? " " Some men think I am wise, but they are mistaken. Some men think I am rich, they too are mistaken; they are surely and decidedly misinformed. I am not rich, I am not learned, and, I have already told you, I am not holy. None of these things have I. My poverty, and so also my ignorance, is concealed in the midst of the comforts and luxuries and honours of this world. These do not appertain to me, or rather they hide my true self. My cottage is in the midst of a splendid habitation, though I may have to live from hand to mouth. Perhaps my appearance is that of one of the wealthiest and richest men in the world. My true self must not be identified with outward appearances, which are only the result of shifting circumstances. Whatever the Lord gives to me, I am bound to accept. Be it riches or penury, I must submit to all the ordinances and dispensations of God. If fortune and friends desert me, and leave me ragged and penniless, I must bear my lot with patience. If it be

His pleasure that thousands of His valiant soldiers should gather around me, I shall joyfully lead them on as their captain, in spite of the flash of cannons, to achieve victories in the cause of truth and righteousness. What the Lord wills, that shall be done. I care not whether I am poor or rich. I am neither poor nor rich. I am not a wise man. How can he who scarcely reads two books in three hundred and sixty-five days be reckoned a wise or a learned man? Yet am I studious. It is true I study not the books of the West, nor the books of the East; but a volume, far more edifying and valuable than all the books of the world, is ever before me—the vast volume of human nature. It is a most profitable and agreeable study. Chapter after chapter have I read, but the inexhaustible work of God is not finished yet, and is as replete with interest as ever. I still go on pondering over the chapters of the sacred volume, and the Lord of Heaven, my Master and Teacher, who is with me every day, explains verse after verse, phrase after phrase, word after word, syllable after syllable. Therefore I am wise. Yet I am not wise." Here is another extract: "I am not responsible for the truth I have to preach. I say this fearlessly, and in the presence of this great assembly. Surely, I am not to blame for anything which I may have done under Heaven's injunction. If any one is to blame, the Lord God of Heaven is to answer for having taught me, and constrained me to do most unpopular things for the good of my country. Dare you impeach Heaven's Majesty? Under His command I have done so, and I will do ten thousand similar things so long as I live." From these words the reader will make out the kind of man the learned boy had grown into, and will not require to be told that in this development are to be found some of the causes of misunderstanding.

The lecture from which extracts are made in the foregoing was delivered not long after the Cooch Behar marriage—one of the events in Keshub's life, singled out of the rest and studied by itself by most critics. I do not think that people understood him better before that marriage than after it. The man was not understood at all from the beginning to the end of his life—he could not be. The fact is, such acts and words of his early life as pleased them they admired him for, but there was that in him which they could not admire, that which they could not understand, which startled them,

confounded their reasonings, wounded their pride. It was that which guided Keshub, I mean, his faith in God. It did not take counsel with other men as it did not with flesh and blood. Had people understood that and made up their minds to it, it would have been otherwise. But it has never been so in the world, and never will be. After what I have said on the genesis of misunderstandings, no one will wonder at all that took place in connection with the Cooch Behar marriage. In the light of what followed, it has an importance which otherwise it would not have. The opposition which it created in the people characterises them and accounts for the importance they have given it, an importance which the critical student of Keshub's life, to whom it is one of his many acts, cannot give it. Fact is more beautiful than fiction, and what Keshub *was* before and what he *became* after the marriage is all that it imports us to know, and not what people thought of him, or reported of him or wished him to be. Whether the marriage was an error or not, is not the question, but whether Keshub became other than what he had been always, is the thing most necessary for us to know. And if that could not be mistaken then, and cannot be mistaken now, what more is necessary? Before the marriage Keshub was the man of faith we had always known him to be; in the marriage he was more so, and most after the marriage.

It is said that he declined after the Cooch Behar marriage; his health declined, and with it the great man himself. The fatal impression of which I have already spoken was caused, I believe, by the Cooch Behar marriage and what followed on it. It will be well, therefore, to say a few more words upon it. I know that many of his friends took a different view of it from his own, and a large number of those who rather loosely hung about him went away and stood against him. This is one way of putting in words the fact of what the Cooch Behar marriage immediately resulted in, namely, of the attitude of the public towards the thing. But the other way of describing the same thing is that his best friends in Europe remained true to him. Professor Max Müller, than whom there was not one who understood him better, took, if not *the* best view of the matter, yet the most sympathetic and the best possible to him. Dean Stanley was anxious to express his sympathy in his trial. Miss Cobbe could not believe that her friend had forsaken his early ideals and

become worldly-minded. I need not name others. Among his friends in India, those who were nearest to him and had understood him better than others, those who had clung to him through thick and thin, through good report and evil, did not desert him excepting one who had always been known to be somewhat fickle. Now, did he make enemies of friends by the act? Let us remember that he did what he did deliberately, and what he said he said not in the heat of passion, but filled with an imperturbable calm, beautiful to contemplate. Here is his own way of looking at the event: "As for your hostility, I am not concerned about it. For verily, I have no enemy on earth. None, I emphatically say so. Those who profess to be my enemies are advocating my cause, and going about preaching my ideas and principles. They hold in their hands my banner. I see their lives, I watch their movements, and with a smile I say to myself, why, this is all my own self reproduced. It is curious but true, that my adversaries, those most inimical to me, have unconsciously adopted my principles. The Lord has made them my friends in spite of themselves. There is no serious enmity, yet they will call themselves my enemies. So much the better, because those who would otherwise never accept my truths now readily grasp them." I need not attempt here to prove the rightness of Keshub's view, but I invite every right-minded man to a study of all facts in regard to the event. Let me tell him only that Keshub never stood in need of an apologist for his actions, words or motives. Let him remember Keshub's own words: "It seems strange, however, that a living man, whose practices and speculations have been before the public for a considerable length of time, should have his creed and his character so wantonly misrepresented. Am I not accessible to all? Is it not possible to apply crucial tests to my character and conduct? Is my theology a hidden thing? Is my creed an enigma and a mystery? * * If you acquit me, I am not acquitted: if you condemn me, I am not condemned. The main issues of this great question lie in the hands of the Heavenly Judge, and to His verdict I must humbly bow." The above expresses Keshub's habitual attitude towards himself and others. He was not a weak-minded man, but fearless and outspoken. And his fearlessness was the fearlessness of love, his outspokenness the outspokenness of humility. While the basest

motives were attributed to him in letters, he was the last man to withhold, in compliance with the entreaties of friends, the publication of these in his own paper. With all his all-searching insight into the motives of others and his own, he laid bare his heart in prayers and lectures which, should a great dramatist appear amongst us, he would turn to account in producing, what might fitly take its place beside the Book of Job, the dramas of Æschylus, Shakespeare and Goethe. To every one wishing to study this particular event in Keshub's life, I mean the Cooch Behar marriage, all doors are open. Let him come with an open mind, without any prejudice, and with an honest wish to understand the thing. Let him try, first of all, to understand the man. And when he has got to know the quality of his genius and character, let him, with all the all-searching insight of love, try to understand his actions, and I have no doubt that he will find this Cooch Behar marriage only one of many acts in Keshub's life, the meaning of which would be altogether misunderstood if taken out of them and considered by itself. In this, as in many other acts, he took counsel not with flesh and blood, but with the holy spirit of God. He did not listen to the noise of the crowd, but to the still small voice within. In this, as in many other acts, he found that his own deepest and best instincts were a surer guide to action than the gratuitous advice of friends or enemies. And he had to stand alone against the whole world. For if his world consisted, first of all, of his friends in this country and in Europe, and then the public at large here and there as well, few of his friends rightly understood him, and none of the public. It was not a joke thus to stand. But how did he come out of the trial? The most sensitive of all souls, his sufferings did not turn him into a pessimist, a hater of man, one who renounced his ideals under the pressure of persecution, but unsealed the deepest springs of action and emotion in him, of insight and wisdom, of faith and love. Out of the trial he came a beautiful man, the most beautiful I have known, with his faith in God unshaken, his instincts pure, his wisdom as unerring as ever. His ideals became clearer, his love of God and men stronger and deeper, his will readier to surrender itself in all things to the will of God.

The man had not declined then. Whether his health had declined and whether the persecutions which followed on the Cooch

Behar marriage caused his illnesses and hastened his death, are suppositions on which I shall say a few words further on. Here, let me give my English readers some idea of the book to which I have already referred more than once, namely, the *Jeevan Veda*. It is one more proof that whatever his outward circumstances, the inward man had not declined. From first to last there is "a heart-cheering freedom" in these sermons. I had intended to entitle my present discourse "Keshub's faith and experiences." How much one's faith is coloured by one's experience, or how much his experiences are the result of his faith, it is not easy to say. All that can be said is, that they pass into each other. "We write from aspiration and antagonism," said Emerson, "as well as from experience." In the *Jeevan Veda* Keshub's faith and experience cannot be separated. What he has said elsewhere about himself and the principles which guided his life is here to be found collected under different heads and dealt with separately. The book must be read through and through, over and over again, in order that we may appreciate the true value of the utterances there printed. He who can make us conscious of our real wants, weaknesses, sins and iniquities, he is our friend and benefactor; and while making us thus conscious, shows us, by his own life and example, the way to overcome those wants and weaknesses, to be freed from those sins and iniquities, he is our guide and saviour. Keshub has made us deeply conscious of what we really *are*, so that we may not, by fancying ourselves better than or something other than what we are, fall into those very errors and sins from which we seek to be freed. And his name is "not so much written as ploughed into the history" of the Brahmo Somaj. In the truest sense he was the saviour of modern India. Did he not save it from death—moral and spiritual? Did he not touch the very heart, "out of which are the issues of life," and say, "The heart is wrong"? Did he not show us the very spots saying—Here aildest thou, and here? And what remedies did he offer for the disease? The remedies which had saved him—prayer, faith, enthusiasm, spiritual freedom, *bhakti*, *yoga* and the like. Of these he speaks in the *Jeevan Veda*. He was not the man to be deceived into thinking himself good and pure because his friends thought him so, but always conscious of sins and the possibilities of sin in himself and in others; not the man, because he was being educated in

colleges where they told him nothing about prayer, to give up his habit of prayer or to doubt the efficacy thereof, though he found no one to share with him his experiences ; not the man to remain indifferent in matters pertaining to his own or his country's reformation, but always burning with a fierce zeal in both ; nor the man to be charmed with the refinements of a European civilisation, but hating worldliness and carnality with a sincere hatred, and loving simplicity and unworldliness ; nor the man to separate religion from social ethics, professing to be free in matters religious, while fearing to be free in matters social, or while seeking political freedom, remaining a slave to evil social customs and still more to hypocritical religious practice ; he was not the man to do such things, but he was one who sought to be " free to the definition of the word freedom," free in all matters, religious, social and political, free from anger, pride, lust, envy, and covetousness, and, above all, free from a false freedom. Though reading books of philosophy and other books which either gave it no support or only a qualified one, he held to the conviction that the voice of conscience is the Voice of God and its authority must be supreme in all matters. When the educated men among whom he worked, and even his friends in the Brahma Somaj, were not wholly prepared to go with him, he boldly gave himself up to the raptures of *bhakti*. Though leading a most active life, he did not forget to hold solitary communion with God, and was not satisfied till he could see Him everywhere. This *yoga* balanced the *bhakti* which he had got by divine grace. Fearless in spiritual matters, he confesses to a strange weakness, a shyness and fear by which he was overcome while living and moving in the world. Then he enunciates the principles of the wonderful arithmetic by which his life was guided and which is opposed to the " arithmetic of fools " of which I have already spoken. Of the success he achieved in life, of his love of analysis in his earlier and of synthesis in his latter days, of the three states of the child, the madman and the inebriate, through which he passed as a spiritual man ; of all this he speaks. In the last two chapters he says that he was born poor in spirit and that he was always a learner.

What he says in the last chapter reminds me of what Emerson said as to the secret of the true scholar : " It is this : every man I meet is my master in some point, and in that I learn of him." But

the truest apostle of culture in Europe, since Shakespeare, was, I believe, Goethe. While writing on him some time ago, I had occasion to compare him to Keshub. Referring to a wrong idea of originality, how frankly he said: "What would remain to me if this art of appropriation were derogatory to genius? Every one of my writings has been furnished to me by a thousand different persons, a thousand things: wise and foolish have brought me, without suspecting it, the offering of their thoughts, faculties and experience. My work is an aggregation of beings taken from the whole of nature: it bears the name of Goethe." A broad culture, it seems to me, is not possible among the English or the Chinese. It is possible among the Germans, and Goethe is its first and finest representative. After him comes Emerson. There, in America, the atmosphere is free, and there are greater opportunities there than in England, for the pursuit of culture, though I am not sure that Americans generally have more aptitude for it, and Emerson, like Shakespeare among the English, seems to be an exception rather than the rule. After Emerson, the chief apostle of culture, I could name, was Keshub. What in Goethe's time was not possible was possible in Emerson's—I mean, a larger infusion of "the Oriental largeness" into the thought of the West. Then, what was not possible in Emerson's time was possible in Keshub's. A closer personal contact of the East with the East had brought into the heart of the East the love of activity of the West. "Feudalism and Orientalism had long enough thought it majestic to do nothing: the modern majesty consists in work." Keshub is the finest example of the union of the East and the West in a man of the East. But what in Germany and America was intellectual becomes in India spiritual. And what in Goethe is love for the beautiful is in Emerson love for the true also, and in Keshub love for the good as well. It is a most interesting study how the spirit of culture incarnated itself in a German, then in an American, and lastly in a Hindoo; how, from an intellectual something it became a religion, the religion of modern India which we love to call the New Dispensation. The *Seevan Veda* is an excellent study in this New Dispensation through the faith and experience of its chief apostle. The New Dispensation is another proof that Keshub had not declined, that he was not the man to decline; and his life is the best illustration of the truth

of what he said in the last chapter of the *Jeevan Veda*. Those six years that he lived after the Cooch Behar marriage were the most fruitful in activity of all kinds. "Fear not a revolution," said Emerson, "which will constrain you to live five years in one. Don't be so tender at making an enemy now and then. We wish to learn philosophy by rote, and play at heroism. But the wiser God says, Take the shame, the poverty, and the penal solitude that belong to truth-speaking." In those six years Keshub had learnt a great deal more than in all the other years of his life. His genius was more active than ever, and his character showed itself in many more ways than ever. "The measure of a man is his success in bringing all men round to his opinion twenty years later." What Keshub did then, and what he said, though misrepresented and misunderstood by the people, has silently worked in them, and to-day we find that he has opened the mind and heart and soul of modern India to the influences of the Highest. He has strengthened and sweetened its will with a faith and a love which have conquered many doubts and sins, and will conquer more.

I do not know if it was "the union of Saxon precision and Oriental soaring of which Shakespeare is the perfect example," which drew Keshub to Shakespeare, but he was a great lover of Avon's immortal Bard. Speaking on him in England I had occasion to compare him to Shakespeare; not that he wrote or could write dramas, but that his was, like Shakespeare's, a catholic mind. Among religious reformers I do not find his like, perhaps a reformer like him was not possible at an earlier date, and I find it more convenient to my purpose to compare him with men like Goethe and Shakespeare, the more so because I find him sharing with those men that characteristic of the highest genius, namely, while gaining in breadth not losing in depth, remaining simple at heart while becoming complex in sympathies. This characteristic would come out better if the character of Keshub were set off against the characters of two of his friends, his predecessor, the venerable Devendranath Tagore, and his follower, Mr. Protap Chunder Mozoomdar. Few friendships in the history of the Brahmo Somaj are more interesting than the friendship between Keshub and Devendranath and that between himself and Protap Chunder. Both the predecessor and the follower of Keshub are now living—the one known best within the Brahmo Somaj, the

other both in and outside it. Devendranath, older than Keshub by many years, loved him perhaps more than he loved any one else in the world, and the two friends, after working together for a few years, parted company. For all practical purposes they were separated for ever. Keshub's younger friend clung to him "through many transitions and trials" to the end of his life, and, after his death, has most enthusiastically preached his gospel at home and abroad. They were both drawn to Keshub by that in him which drew hundreds of others to him; but how widely their geniuses differed from his! Both Devendranath and Protap Chunder are men of meditation, if I might so say, while Keshub was a man of prayer and faith. In him meditateness holds a secondary place as prayer and faith do in the former two. I have already described Keshub's prayers as "colloquies with God," and I have described the quality of his faith. The meditateness in both his friends has been cultivated to a high degree, and the Brahmo Somaj as well as those who are outside its pale are now enjoying the fruit of their meditations. Devendranath's meditateness has made him broad, while Protap Chunder's has made him deep. But compared with Keshub, they both seem to me like Milton compared with Shakespeare. Milton, grand, severe, sublime, is perhaps the most interesting poet in England since Shakespeare. But compared with Shakespeare, what a difference, not in degree only, but in kind also! Shakespeare seems like "a piece of Nature," at one with her, "inconceivably wise," "the best head in the universe"; Milton, conceivably wise, learned, patriotic, but his patriotism was bounded by his Protestantism and his Protestantism by his Puritanism. Shakespeare was vast, universal, with the light and joyousness of Nature herself, her unconsciousness and infinitude revealing themselves through his writings: Milton, compared with him, is narrow, limited, though great in his own sphere.

Keshub's theism, compared with Devendranath's, seems to some to have lost its simplicity and purity. I could prove it to demonstration that it is otherwise. He has, in fact, made it really simple and pure by letting it grow in the ever living providence of God. It was dying and almost dead when Devendranath took it up, and it was dying again when Keshub found it. The difference between Keshub's theism and Devendranath's is something like the differ-

ence between Martineau's theism and Mr. Voysey's. It was different from Devendranath's not only in kind, but in degree, superior to it, deeper, richer, fuller than it, with promises and potencies which are of the nature of the infinite, and which have saved it from death and will save it still. Did not Keshub in 1876, that is, about twelve years after his separation from Devendranath, say: "Now I tell you plainly, we do not mean to stand where we are. Have we then not yet found the truth? We have, but we need more. Have we not seen the light? Yes, we have, but how it shines unto the perfect day, we have yet to see. Dewdrops of heavenly joy and peace have we gathered and tasted, but the vast ocean of Divine joy still surges before us. Therefore, we mean to go further and further, under the guidance of God, in the path of ever-increasing wisdom, love, purity and joy, never satisfied with what is achieved, but always panting and struggling for fresh acquisitions. Our scripture is not closed, but fresh chapters are still being written and added year after year. What the Lord will reveal to us ten years hence, who knows save He? We thank Him for the revelation He has already vouchsafed unto us, but more He will yet reveal. So has He told us. Towards fuller light we shall, therefore, prayerfully and reverently press forward." From the foregoing one will see the eternally progressive character of Keshub's theism. As it rolled on along the years of his life it gained in depth, while gaining in breadth. Devendranath, while he is broad, is not deep; Protap Chunder, while he is deep, is not broad; Keshub was both broad and deep, and, as he became broader, he became deeper too, and, as he became deeper, broader also. Devendranath's theism is like the Chilka Lake, Protap Chunder's theism is like the Mahanuddy river, while Keshub's theism was like the sea. Into the sea the Mahanuddy and many other rivers flow, and with the sea the Chilka and other lakes are connected. But neither the Mahanuddy river nor the Chilka Lake could be substitute for the vast, deep, everlasting ocean.

The simplicity of which I have spoken was the deepest characteristic of Keshub's genius and character. To miss that would be to miss the whole secret of his greatness. Faith, spontaneity, wholeheartedness, sincerity, unconventionality and the like virtues are nothing to the man of first-rate genius if there be not simplicity at

the core of them. "All great actions," said Emerson, "have been simple, and all great pictures are. The Transfiguration, by Raphael, is an eminent example of this peculiar merit. A calm, benignant beauty shines over all this picture, and goes directly to the heart. It seems almost to call you by name." Such is the characteristic of Keshub's prayers in Bengali, as I have already said or hinted at. He is at his best there. Proceeding thence, if we study him in his sermons at the Brahma Mandir, we find the same characteristic in a more diluted form, and if, proceeding still further, we study him in his *Lectures* in English, we are in danger of missing it if we do not keep in sight the man instead of losing our way in the language he uses. In his long lectures in English he is discursive; having had to address large and mixed audiences, he was not so much at home there as in the pulpit before his congregation. But he was most at home in his daily devotions, at home with his friends. If the simplicity I have spoken of is missed in his lectures in English, let his sermons in Bengali be studied; if it is not found there, let the diligent student look reverently for it in his prayers, and if he is not touched by it in them, let him conclude that he lacks simplicity himself. Keshub's simplicity is the simplicity of Nature, which is simple though complex; he is "a piece of Nature" himself. "There is at the surface of history infinite variety of things; at the centre there is simplicity of cause. How many are the acts of one man, in which we recognise the same character! Nothing is more simple than greatness; indeed to be simple is to be great." Keshub was great because he was at heart simple, and I would unsay all that I have said about his faith, spontaneity, whole-heartedness and other virtues did I not now find hidden in them all that simplicity which makes him one with the great masters in art, in literature, and in love.

Keshub was a master in love. His love for Christ is an instance in point. Friends here and in England took exception to what they called his excessive reverence for Christ. To me that "excessive reverence" is a fresh study in the simplicity I have been speaking of. Were it not for this simplicity, his love for Christ would be meaningless, his prayers "words without thoughts," his sermons mere jargon, his long lectures a mere waste of time and energy, he himself one of the vainest and shallowest of men, and

the whole of the New Dispensation "the baseless fabric of a vision." I have said that the New Dispensation is the religion of culture in modern India. What in Europe and America was more æsthetic and intellectual, became in India more spiritual and personal. And Keshub's love for Christ is a study in this spiritual and personal culture. But should we not try to distinguish that which is not love from that which is? Yes. The man who anoints his head, combs his hair and puts on fine clothes and thinks that he is cultivating his æsthetic sense, if he is not kind and good, is not changed into a beautiful soul by what he does; it is not the love of beauty but the love of sin that he cultivates; he is or becomes carnal. So, if a man speaks of his love for Christ and is not changed into a Christian, he is a fool who deceives himself and others; he is or becomes a hypocrite. Keshub's was no such love. His was no "euphemistic gallantry" with the tremendously real personality of Jesus. His was a personal love. He who could feel for the late Queen Victoria an enthusiastic personal attachment, and more or less for every good and noble Viceroy and Governor-General of India, as well as for other high officials, is it to be wondered at that he should love Christ enthusiastically? The story is told how surprised an English friend of his was at his admiration of Napoleon. "Do you think he was a great man?" asked his friend. "Yes, I do," was the reply. Keshub not only admired all forms of greatness and heroism which appealed to him with an irresistible charm, but loved more or less passionately every good and noble personality to whom he was drawn in spite of himself. In this he reminds me of Goethe, whose love for every form of excellence made him give himself to every man and woman he met, and in whom he found something excellent to love. Among great men of other countries and of the past, how he loved Shakespeare, Spinoza and Kalidasa! How heartily he acknowledged his debt to others! Whether a Goldsmith or a Scott, a Byron or a Carlyle, geniuses so different in character, he was quick to detect the good that was in each and heartily loved and admired it. How whole-hearted was his admiration of Sakuntala! Did he not write like an Oriental those lines on her? A half-hearted man could not have been the many-sided man that Keshub was. He was unconventional in his correspondence and behaviour, pouring out his heart to those who claimed

him as their own. And yet he was the most self-restrained of men.

I have already said that a careful study of Keshub's lectures, sermons and prayers would convince one that there is no sin like half-heartedness. His love for Christ confirms that view. His was no intellectual, imaginary love, but real and spiritual. It is a fresh study in whole-heartedness as opposed to half-heartedness. A half-hearted man cannot be simple; a whole-hearted man can. Half-heartedness is too closely allied to sin; whole-heartedness is almost the same thing as holiness. And Keshub's love for Christ is not only a study in simplicity, in whole-heartedness, but in that without which men are worse than beasts. Who cares for Christ or Buddha, for Shakespeare or Goethe, if they do not teach us, by life and example, or by hints and suggestions, that without which all is "vanity and vexation of spirit"? Keshub's love for Christ meant love for holiness; such as he was, he could not do without Christ, without that enthusiastic, spontaneous, whole-hearted, sincere and simple love for him, which saved him from sin and the possibility of sin.

Let us look a little more deeply into this love. Those who think that by making too much of Christ, Keshub made too little of God, have not yet got at that simplicity in complexity of character in him of which I have said so much. Keshub was not an orthodox Christian of the popular sort. He loved Christ passionately because he loved God passionately. And he could not have loved Christ so had he not loved God so. The one made the other possible. That whole-heartedness in him, of which much has already been said, made him fearless, unconventional, trustful and loving to a degree. Failure to understand this has led his critics to fall into gross errors regarding his motives and actions. When he gave in England his famous lecture on "England's Duty to India," people thought that too much lionising had turned his head, and he could not have ventured in this country on the remarks he made there. Let these people only read his lecture on "Jesus Christ: Europe and Asia," and they will be convinced of their error. The fact is, Keshub's love for the English made him outspoken in the best sense of the word. He was as hearty in his admiration of what was admirable, as in his condemnation of what was condemnable in their rule in India. The most outspoken man I have known, his outspokenness was the out-

spokenness of love and humility, not of pride and contempt. Those, again, who think that in his lecture on "Great Men" he recanted what he had said on "Jesus Christ," need only read both the lectures carefully and understandingly, and they will find out their error. The error is of the same nature. We want to bring down a great man to the level of our own understandings, give his words an interpretation of our own, and call his sincerity into question when we find him saying things which startle us out of our wits. Poor we ! In this way we injure ourselves, for we cannot injure them. Keshub's love for Christ was no exclusive love, using that word in its ordinary sense ; though it was exclusive in the best sense, exclusive and at the same time all-inclusive. For in his love for Christ he did not forget Chaitanya and Buddha and other prophets to whom he had felt drawn. I may compare his love for Christ to the love of the true lover for his maid. The lover who loves his maid with all his heart will find it easy to love all women heartily ; and he loves his maid with a special love, because, if it was a love at first sight, it was not in his will to choose between herself and others. She had drawn him as none else could ; why, he could not say even to himself—well, while he loves his maid with a special love he will love other women, all in a general way, each in a special way. Now all this is said of the lover who *loves* and not of him who seems to love, has the shadow, but not the substance of the thing, "which is the essence of God." The man who *loves* the first friend he meets with an entire, a whole-hearted love will find it in the nature of that love not to stop with that first friend, but to go on loving entirely every friend he meets, and he will love all in a general way and each in a special way. This is the man who can love his enemies, and whose love will convert enemies into friends. The lover who is a doter, a sentimentalist, as we call him, and "the barrenest of all mortals is the sentimentalist," whose love, if analysed, will be found to contain a little fondness and much foolishness, the being charmed with something in his maid, which took his fancy, a little unselfishness mixed up with a good deal of selfishness ; he is not what I would call a whole-hearted lover ; he has not learnt to love with his whole heart ; he does not, perhaps, know that it is a thing *to be learnt*. Such a lover, of whom there are many in the world, more than enough, I believe, will make too much of his maid to-day and

too little to-morrow, will leave one maid for another, and never know what true love is. Christ has many such lovers; the less of them, the better for him. Keshub's love for Christ was the love of the new man in a new age, which he was. It was not the ordinary Englishman's narrow, exclusive, theologic love, but a loving Oriental's love for the best of Orientals ; not narrow, exclusive, theologic, but broad, all-inclusive, human. And if Shakespeare "gave to the science of mind a new and larger subject than had ever existed," so as to startle philosophers out of their speculations, Keshub gave to the study of Christ that which will startle theologians out of their "theologic determination." And if true philosophers have learnt to look upon Shakespeare as an intellectual phenomenon to be studied in order to be accounted for, likewise will Christian theologians find Keshub a spiritual phenomenon to be accounted for and well worth all the pains for a study towards that end.

One matter more, and I have done. I do not know if I have been able to prove to demonstration that the man Keshub, the inward, spiritual man, had not declined, whatever his outward circumstances might be. Before I conclude, let me say a few words on his illness and death. Whether his health became very much worse after the Cooch Behar marriage than before it, whether that marriage was the immediate cause of the illness which ended in his death, are questions which may well be left to the medical men who attended on him to answer. What I know is that he was suffering from a wasting illness which terminated his life at the age of 46. His physical sufferings, especially during the very last days, were great, and the pains he bore were the most excruciating I have ever witnessed. What I know also as regards his pecuniary resources is that he was in want ; and as regards the attitude of the public, it was one long misunderstanding. With his health broken, without money, without the sympathy of the public, his last days were full of gloom, and he passed away at the early age of forty-six. That is one way of describing him in his last days, and not the right way; for it does not wholly describe him; it describes only his outward circumstances, and describing him thus in part we describe him wrongly, for the part here does not give us an idea of the whole; it has to be set off ^aagainst another part in order to make the whole, which is sublime and beautiful.

Now health is an uncertain thing in the resources of the best of men. What the best of men know is that duty is the one thing certain in life. Well or ill, they must do what they came into the world to do, knowing that "they also serve who only stand and wait." When they have health they must do what they can with it; when they have it not, let them do what they ought to without it. "Every man's task," said Emerson, "is his life-preserver. The conviction that his work is dear to God and cannot be spared, defends him. The lightning-rod that disarms the cloud of its threat is his body in its duty." To say that Keshub was ill, would be saying nothing. Even medical men would like to know something more. And spiritual men would like to know what relation his illness bore to his genius and character, how it affected him. Did it leave him better or worse? Was it helpful to his genius and character, or hurtful? These questions are answered by Keshub himself, by what he was in his illness, by what he was made through the illness and what he was after the illness had terminated in death. Now Keshub's illness, like every other circumstance of his life, was converted by him into food for his soul, into scripture, philosophy, joy, strength and means of oneness with God. Let any one read his prayer on 27th May, 1882, and he will be convinced of the truth of what I have said. Readers of modern English biography know of some of the most heroic workers to have been men without the blessing of health. Robert Louis Stevenson and John Richard Green will readily come to mind. Mrs. Browning was an invalid almost all her life. Darwin and Huxley turned out some of their solidest work in no very enviable condition of the body. I need not mention other instances. Keshub, with very few friends, without money or the sympathy of the public, with his health shattered, working under the very shadow of death; Keshub, in his last days, is to me the sublimest spectacle in the history of modern India. The best lectures were those delivered after the Cooch Behar marriage, the deepest and sweetest prayers those offered in his last years, the Book of Laws (*Nava Samhita*) was written when his physical sufferings were causing the gravest anxiety to his near and dear ones, the little book on *Yoga* was dictated then, and, lying on a bed of pain, he corrected its proof-sheets. Was it now too early to depart? He had done all that he could do on this side of the grave. His friends understood him

very little, and the public not at all. It was time for him to quit this world for another and a better one, and the summons had come. One other act remained to be done, an act full of the oldest, deepest meaning and love. It was the consecration of the New Sanctuary, the building of which had been commenced during his illness. Tottering in the chair in which he was conveyed to the place, he offered his last public prayer, sitting on the damp *vedi* in that unfurnished hall. It was just a week before his death, and when, a week after, he died, he looked beautifuller in death than in life.

"In all ages," says Emerson, "souls out of time, extraordinary, prophetic, are born, who are rather related to the system of the world, than to their particular age and locality." There are deep things which Keshub saw at a glance and which his nearest friends could not see until after a long time. His own views of men and things were large and broad, full of a natural insight; it was as if the inspiration of the Almighty had given him understanding, with sympathies extending far beyond nations and countries now existing on the face of this earth, announcing and prophesying things which he did not and could not live to see the fulfilment of, almost immeasurably in advance of his times, "his mind being the horizon beyond which, at present, we do not see;" he was, in fact, in the truest sense, the Light of modern India, as I said some time ago, and before another hundred years have passed, he will claim his place as its Lawgiver. Centuries hence, when most of the celebrities now known and noised about will have been forgotten, he will live in the hearts of men, and when his own long lectures and sermons will have been forgotten, the deep and pithy things he has said, not out of his mouth but out of the depth of his heart, will do their work in the hearts of men, will take root, grow and fructify there. Generations of devout believers will feed upon his extempore prayers, and the little book, *True Faith*, and the larger one, *Jeevan Veda*, will incite all true sons of God to give up their all and live for God, will raise up workers by hundreds and thousands, men of faith who will do and dare the impossible, patriots, philanthropists, prophets and martyrs who will be the regenerators of this country. The present races in India will change and disappear, and a new nation of men will grow out of them, who will know better than we how to serve their God, their country, and the world at large. I have not

the shadow of a doubt as to the ultimate triumph of the principles which guided his life. For "this man of men, he who planted the standard of humanity some furlongs forward into chaos," was wise for himself. He is the reconciler whom the world wanted and of whom Emerson spoke thus: "He will not trifle with Shakespeare the player, nor shall grope in graves with Swedenborg the mourner; but who shall see, speak, and act, with equal inspiration." I look upon him as the new Teacher born in the very year the Sage of Concord predicted his coming, "who shall see the identity of the law of gravitation with purity of heart, and shall show that the Ought, that Duty, is one thing with Science, with Beauty and with Joy." If from some such insight of the quality and catholicity of his genius and the depth and universality of his character, Professor Max Müller spoke as he did, then he was right when he said, on the death of Keshub Chunder Sen: "India has lost her greatest son."

PROMOTHO LOLL SEN.

THE STANDARDISATION OF VILLAGE RELIEF WORKS.

MODERN famine literature is very bulky ; criticism is very detailed ; everybody rushes into print. Theory and practice differ so widely that critics wax bitter over the obvious. For every reason, a famine policy is the easiest thing to condemn or to justify by arguments which may, after all, have no application to local circumstances. Honest attempts to over-define and particularise have made it all the easier to find fault.

Hence, the doubtful value of codification. Every experienced famine officer will detect some flaw in any scheme, something which may be essential in the system propounded, but is, in his own case, probably undesirable and perhaps a fatal feature. Rules and regulations must, in fact, exist only as a standard pattern, a general guide, and they must be thrust aside or broken as local conditions demand. Whilst, therefore, fully realising the difficulty and the danger of attempting to construct any permanent fabric, I cannot help thinking that the exposition, it may be acceptance, of a coherent system for small village relief works might correct errors and tend to dispel numerous prejudices against this form of famine relief. There has lately been a revulsion in favour of small village works ; the system set forth is not new, the scheme I advocate may now be in force in several districts. But it may be a service to the famine-stricken and the general public, if it can be demonstrated, once for all, that there are, in an intelligent system of village relief works, virtues and possibilities for good, which have been tardily admitted and, perhaps, scantily realised.

One word more to prevent misunderstanding. Village works are often unnecessary and inexpedient ; or they may be a vital

necessity : they may be justifiable in different areas for diverse reasons. They may form the backbone of the system of relief in one district ; in another, they may be in a totally subordinate position, acting merely as feeders for large works ; they may be essential in one *taluka* out of eight in a district ; in the other seven talukas their existence may be a menace to the *morale* of the district.

I do not pretend to say when village relief works should be opened, when they must be started at all costs ; on these points the decision must lie with the officer on the spot. But I do say that, when he has decided to start village works, he will do well to accept some of the principles now laid down. There will be other difficult questions—the number of works required—the area each work can cover—the question of selected admission by *chitt* or otherwise—the relief of dependants—the application of medical aid—the capabilities of the local *panch* in each case : all these points deserve careful consideration in connection with the system which I now venture to propose.

First of all, we must steer clear of all elaboration in plan : our system must be absolutely simple, intelligible to the relief workers themselves. This is the fundamental idea of village works. We must so arrange that our worker knows :—

- (1) how much work he is expected to do :
- (2) what pay he ought to get for doing it :
- (3) that he will get it directly it is due, and at short intervals.

If there is a common knowledge, an implicit belief on these three essentials from the beginning, it will make a vast difference. The reason is obvious to everybody who has seen that hopeless look on the face of a worker who digs at an unlimited, undefined task, who seems—as he says—to get the same pay, whatever he does. He wants to know how much work he has to do to get a full day's payment. The work, in other words, must be "set out," so that the labourer can encourage himself and be encouraged to get the daily task finished. The spirit of achievement must be aroused ; the ambition and self-gratulation born of the fixed and finally completed task must be nursed and indulged, on the assumption that a relief worker is a foolish, shifty and unreasonable individual, not a machine, a mere A, B, or C class unit !

But having finished his task, the labourer must be promptly paid. He must know what he can claim, whether he should be fined, how much he ought to get. There may be occasional changes in the rate of grain, of course : we will deal with that presently. But every worker is accustomed to buy grain for himself, and understands changes of rates ; he knows that he will get less pay for the full task, if the price of grain falls at the local shop, and *vice versa*. A simple "sliding scale," which the meanest intelligence can grasp, is all that we shall require.

Now the third essential. Payments must be made daily. Nothing but a system which enables labourers to be paid daily will be a success in backward districts, or in districts where village works are found to be necessary in the first instance. It may safely be laid down that whenever Government is forced to start village works, daily payments are absolutely necessary. This is the most vital point. Weekly payments, bi-weekly payments are useless when we have to deal with improvident workers. They will squander a week's pay in a few minutes ; they will lend ; they will give to lazy friends and relations ; they will at once buy ghee, tobacco, snuff, liquor. The sweetmeat vendor attends the relief work on pay day and the day following ; and special arrangements have to be made to exclude him and to save self-indulgent and too generous relief workers ! If we attempt to solve the difficulty by making advances which are to be repaid, the worker will consume the advance, depart to the next work, and thus travel round the district. Again, it is useless to make daily payments for a fortnight on the assumption that the relief worker will save, because he ought to save or might reasonably save—an assumption so ubiquitously fatal to the ryot ! No : daily payments must always be made.

Then the familiar difficulty arises : how much to pay ? Work cannot be measured up every day for each individual digger, or even each family. Rough measurements are unsatisfactory, and the army of measuring clerks will levy the usual percentage. Any system of *chitts* will create endless trouble and confusion. Then, again, if any minimum amount of work secure a minimum payment, there will be slackness and laziness such as only a minimum wage can engender and prolong. The minimum wage is a last resource,

only to be justified by the most exceptional circumstances, which need not be discussed here.

So far, you will say, I have been labouring to point out what is obvious, at the risk of being dogmatic. But I claim that our system of village relief works will accomplish all that is required in the simplest manner ; will show a defined task, will let the worker know what he ought to get, and will admit of his getting it daily. The system is, of course, a piece-work system, with payments purely by results ; it can conveniently be applied to excavation work, especially on small tanks ; it has given good results when developed in a slightly different form and applied to forest relief works.

Leaving aside the question of forest relief works, which may involve the use of more unfamiliar terms, let us assume that small tanks have to be selected for excavation. It is presumed that each *taluka* has been divided into circles according to the usual custom. In each circle some five or six works will generally be available, or will be discovered by an expert on investigation. Only one officer, with slight technical knowledge, will be required in each *taluka* ; he will survey tank sites, decide where to dig and how deep to dig, where to throw earth and how high to throw it. Such a mild type of expert is not hard to find : the work assigned to him can be done rapidly and easily, presuming that it is not done already, as it should be. In a few days he will have prepared, after inspection, rough estimates for many tanks. This officer does not control the workers, and has nothing to do with paying them or measuring their work. He does technical work only—and I would confine him to it—for which he is responsible to his own department.

The rest of the staff consists of* one officer in charge of each small work, assisted by a village *panch*, if available. This one officer in charge need be of quite ordinary intelligence and activity. A candidate for Government employment is, as a rule, found perfectly capable, and is not a mere temporary importation, whose hopes cease with the job. The village *kulkurni* or *talati* cannot usually be spared owing to other pressing work of gratuitous relief, tagavi enquiries, revenue collections, revenue enquiries and statistics, regis-

* I remember being told in 1899 that 10 officers of sorts would be required for each small work or some 700 for the district. I then agreed small works were impossible !

tration of births and deaths, and the like. If he could be spared, he would be the best man, as he knows the workers and is known of them ; but probably we shall have to be content with an *umedwar*. It is possible that the local *panch* may be able to supply and to supervise their own tank officer ; but usually, where and when village works are required, *panches* are weak or useless, and local talent not available.

The tank, then, has been selected : the expert has decided where excavation should be made and where earth should be thrown, has classed the soil to be dug (if necessary to classify it), and has done his work.

The tank officer, whom we shall not starve into dishonesty on a pay of Rs. 12 to 15, then divides up the area to be excavated into long roads, each ten feet broad, and every alternate road he divides up into *chokdis* or squares of 100 cubic feet, as shown below. The dividing lines can be lightly marked out in a few minutes with a pickaxe :—

The workers will work by family gangs. If two or more workers agree to work together, they can do so up to reasonable limits which discretion will suggest. The object is to secure that each family gang and each *chokdi* should be one unit for payment purposes.

The rate of wages is fixed per *chokdi* of 100 cubic feet, and every *chokdi* completed by sunset each day is there and then paid for by the tank officer in the presence of the *panch*. It will be easy for the members of a family or those working in an unit to finish one *chokdi* or more in one day ; and thus daily payments can be made regularly and accurately without taking rough measurements, and every family gang knows that it will receive so much for every *chokdi* finished during the day. Uncompleted *chokdis* must never be paid for.

The object of leaving roads in setting out the work is two-fold—to keep the workers apart and the work clear, and to have no disputed ridges left between *chokdis*. When two lines have been excavated, the intermediate road is similarly divided into *chokdis* of 100 cubic feet, and so on, until a clean flat surface is ready for fresh excavation.

The simplest method of fixing rates of payment per *chokdi* is to have a printed sliding scale, which the workers themselves can readily understand ; and the diagram on the opposite page shows a convenient way of framing it.

The tank officer has first to find the “reduced lead.” This is simple enough : he adds the distance from the *chokdi* to the bank, where earth is thrown, to 10 times the height * of such bank. Having thus found the reduced lead, he looks for the rate entry according to the class of soil and prevailing price of grain in lb. per rupee. The sliding scale is so simple that he cannot make a mistake, and his calculations can easily be tested. I have not ventured to play the engineer, and fill in the rates per 100 cubic feet in the form given, as I only desire to illustrate how our ready reckoner works automatically.

The tank officer requires a measuring tape and stationery. One or two messengers on daily wages may be allowed him—perhaps two for every three hundred persons working—to fetch money, carry vouchers, and the like. The village *panch* will probably be fit to witness measurements and payments. Measurements are very simply made : a 10ft. square bamboo frame is put together,

* The lift is calculated as being not less than 3 feet, whatever the height of the bank, for obvious reasons ; and 30 feet would, therefore, be the minimum to be added to the lead on account of lift.

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and this must lie in the *chokdi* dug before payment is made. Sticks to show a foot in depth may be attached to the frame, if found convenient. When a *chokdi* is being paid for, the centre lump of earth left by the diggers will be removed in the presence of the *panch*.

Reduced lead.	Soil.	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10
1—100	Light.														
	Heavy.														
	Muram.														
100—150	Light.														
	Heavy.														
	Muram.														
150—200	Light.														
	Heavy.														
	Muram.														
200—250	Light.														
	Heavy.														
	Muram.														
250—300	Light.														
	Heavy.														
	Muram.														
300—350	Light.														
	Heavy.														
	Muram.														
350—400	Light.														
	Heavy.														
	Muram.														

It will be well not to allow workers to remove tools from the work, but to keep them in a rough hut close to the work, where the messengers must sleep at night. An extra man on daily wages may be made responsible for collecting tools at night. It is not

unreasonable to allow night-work and work on Sunday ; but these are details requiring special orders in each case, if difficulties arise. I now pass to the final question of vouchers, records and accounts ; and there are many different forms that could be devised. So far, the system is perfectly simple, and it is important to have as few forms to fill in and as few records to keep as possible. The Account Department will insist on exact vouchers, and in any case Government will require returns of men, women and children employed, for weekly publication. Further, it has sometimes been insisted that a maximum wage should be fixed, and that no man, woman or child should be allowed to earn more than a specified amount every day. This is a wise precaution, especially if the tank bed be damp or cracked in some places ; for work will then be too easy in a few spots.

The form shown on page 835 is suggested as being a simple daily record, which gives all the required information and enables a maximum wage limit to be enforced.

A word may be added as regards recouping money by vouchers. The tank officer must, on appointment, give security for, say, Rs. 500, and he is given a permanent advance of Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 as may be needed. When he has exhausted all his advance, except some Rs. 50, he will send in to the taluka town his daily forms as vouchers, made up as shown above, with a certificate at the foot of the latest form that he has in his possession and is responsible for the balance of these Rs. 50. He will then receive from the treasury the amount shown in the vouchers, and will meanwhile not remain without funds. There have been instances in which the balance of advance had to be sent to the treasury together with vouchers : the obvious result was that, as the local treasury was at a distance, the tank officer was without money and daily payment ceased for two or three days. The addition of the certificate mentioned above will save this difficulty, which must be guarded against in some equally simple manner.

It should be added that if numbers exceed 800 to 1,000 on one small work, a second tank officer will be necessary ; and one must be subordinate to the other, or they will fight ! Some people are easier to manage than others, some managers are more capable than others ; but if there be more than 1,500 workers,

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Daily Attendance and Pay Sheet of.....April 1902.

Name of Gangman.	No. of chokdis dug.	Rate per chokdi.	Value of work done.	Wages paid subject to maximum rate.	REMARKS.
Naru Laxman 2 M. 2 W. 2 C.	1	As. 4	As. 4	As. 4	N. B.—Maximum rates are :—
Rama Mala ... 1 M. 1 W. 3 C.	1	...	4	4	1½ as. for a man. 1 a. for a woman. ½ a. for a child under 16 and over 7.
Dadu Rehman ... 1 M. 1 W.	If a gang do not com- plete a chokdi in one day and complete two chokdis by the following day, they will, of course, be allowed to earn pay up to the maximum rates for 2 days.
Krishna Bala ... 1 M. 1 W. 1 C.	...	...	...	...
Hari Kalu ... 2 M. 1 W. 3 C.	1	...	4	4	
Hira Auba ... 1 M. 2 W. 1 C.	1	...	4	4	
Bana Amta ... 1 M. 2 W. 3 C.	1	...	4	4	
Gangaram Pandu 3 M. 3 W. 2 C.	2	...	8	8	Total men ... 19 " women ... 18 " children ... 20 Total payments made Rs. 2-12-6
Maruti Tikam ... 1 M.	...	...	...	...
Bhima Gulab ... 1 M. 1 W. 2 C.	1	...	4	3½	
Bhav Govind ... 3 M. 2 W. 2 C.	2	...	8	7½	
Nathu Hema ... 2 M. 2 W. 1 C.	2	...	8	5½	

(Signed) A. B.,
Tank Karkun.

it may generally be advisable to convert this small work into a regular "large work" with the usual P. W. D. staff and management. The change may furnish an interesting object lesson, worth noting in detail !

The wage may be liberal enough to include allowances for dependants. Probably this would make the terms of work too liberal for the average worker. The best course, perhaps, is to feed such dependants, as absolutely require it, on cooked food in the local *chavdi*, and to insist on their doing light work, such as beating down earth, breaking clods, trimming banks and the like, on the village work. The latter system proved a success, and few dependants required free rations.

Village works, carefully conducted and conscientiously supervised, should be an inexpensive and effective form of relief, popular in a proper sense and to a just degree.

The question as to what the actual prevailing rate of grain really is must be solved by local authority not lower than the mamlatdar. The rate on the relief work—which is the question—should be fixed with due regard to distance from markets, local supply, local conditions, etc., etc., and Rangoon rice should not be accepted as a staple grain. Alterations in rate can be communicated by written order, but rates do not shift rapidly enough to cause difficulty. If there is a *taluka* grain contract, there should be no difficulty at all. "*Nirak*" rates are not, of course, made in heaven, and the sub-divisional officer must keep an eye on the settlement of rates. With a circle inspector doing famine work only in each circle, an active mamlatdar, and an European officer *knowing the vernacular* (this is essential) in each *taluka*, the sub-divisional officer will be able to keep things well in order. But there is one necessity, namely, that each small work should be started and watched for two or three days by a responsible officer, who will not be content until the relief workers as well as the tank officer thoroughly understand the system.

I need not further amplify the scheme, which is so simple, that I may be scoffed at for explaining it in detail. It is, perhaps, now in force in several districts ; but the want of a simple scheme has been felt for more reasons than one on several occasions. The system may prove useful in dealing with backward communities or

hill-tribes or in tiding over a cholera crisis. And, finally, I am tempted to set out—at the risk of being tedious—a few of the more important advantages of village relief works as a system of famine relief. I will not delay to press each point, but be content to record it as it occurs :—

(1) Village works can be opened near people's homes ; families can work together when they like under a minimum of restraint from rules and regulations.

(2) Homes and cattle need not be abandoned and helpless dependants need not be moved.

(3) Work runs on almost automatically, so that the village officers or a strong village *panch* might carry it out unaided.

(4) Daily payments can be made without addition of staff and with a minimum staff.

(5) There is only one *dasturi* taker instead of an army of them.

(6) A maximum wage can be enforced without difficulty.

(7) There is no herding in camp or in hospital, forms of restraint which hill-tribes cannot endure.

(8) Inspection is easier.

(9) There is less chance of an epidemic, less panic if it does come, less harm done if there is a panic.

(10) Workers can be easily shifted in case of cholera or the like.

(11) There is no division of authority : the revenue officer must have entire control.

(12) There are fewer records to keep.

(13) The expense—especially of establishment—is infinitely less.

The above points occur at once, and I will only suggest in addition that lightly equipped travelling dispensaries should visit small works periodically ;—these will, I firmly believe, do more good than elaborate hospital arrangements in central places.

A last word to those who maintain that the system of village relief works is an absurd indulgence, a mere pandering to laziness, superstition and obstinacy. If we are to save life at any cost, it is surely better to do so by the agency of village relief works than by feeding all comers gratis. It is not only cheaper to open village

works than to give a minimum wage on large public works, but the opening of village works may save the common people from the demoralising influence of free rations, from the bitter fruits of a policy which only English globe-trotting journalists, travelling M. Ps., old ladies, and Exeter Hall are self-satisfied and ignorant enough to applaud. The wider acceptance, too, of a definite scheme is a step towards humane recognition of the obvious economic truth, that, despite the best efforts of famine commissions, survey settlements, and other European luxuries, the ryot still remains unreasonable and improvident, and that neither he nor we can eliminate his prejudices and reform his natural inclinations more speedily than the Ethiopian can change his skin and the leopard lose his spots.

H. D. RENDALL.

ANN MARSTON.

June 14th, 1808—December 29th, 1901.

AN APPRECIATION.

THE Spaniards have a proverb, "Let no man say I will not drink of this water," meaning that whoever does so say, will inevitably have to take the draught he is determined to avoid. And the fact that I have been asked to write a short account of the remarkable woman whose name stands at the head of this article, is an example of the truth of the proverb. For it was through meeting her 25 years ago that I was drawn to take an active part in a certain line of work, which only a few months previously I had intended never to engage in on account of its terrible nature, and it was through that work that she and I became first colleagues, and as time went on, personal friends. The cause which brought us together and which enabled us to understand each other, as possibly we never otherwise might have done, was the crusade against vivisection, to which she devoted a large part of her energies during the last thirty years of her life. But although her work on this special subject was sufficient to occupy the whole time of many persons, it was but a part of her life's work. From her earliest years, when she was left by the death of her father mistress of a large fortune entirely at her own disposal, missions of many kinds had held the first place in her affections, and so it remained to the end. A detailed account of this portion of her work it is impossible for me to give, owing to the great length of time which has elapsed since first she entered on it; but as years passed, the two interests became united, the work for missions, and the work for animals, and have already influenced and will continue to influence each other largely. Her clear vision and strong common-sense, coupled with her deep religious principles, convinced her that it was impossible for the Christian to regard the sufferings of any of

God's creatures as a negligible quantity, or a quantity to be used for the real or supposed benefit of the stronger and more highly developed members of the community. Feeling deeply the need of medical missions, of hospitals and colleges, feeling also how destructive of all true religious life are the teachings too often given in colleges and even in schools, Miss Marston communicated with her old friends, the authorities governing the Moravian Missions, the Zenana Mission, the Central Turkey College, Aintab, the Anatolia, Euphrates and Jaffna Colleges, the Lady Kinnaird Hospital, Lucknow, the Benares Hospital and the Multan Hospital—this last under the Society for Female Education in the East—and induced all these charities to pass stringent by-laws making it, as far as human foresight can provide, impossible for vivisection ever to be practised or even encouraged in these many institutions, or by those training for employment in them. Some of the letters received by her from those connected with these Societies are of more than private interest; I therefore append a few quotations while withholding the names of the writers, as the letters are private.

The President of one of the Colleges writes: "The practice of vivisection is so manifestly out of place in a Missionary Institution and inconsistent with the spirit of the religion we teach, that I think I can guarantee that it shall never be practised in connection with this Institution."

Another College sent word: "Resolved—that the practice of vivisection will under no circumstances be allowed in the Institution, of which we are Trustees"; to which the President himself added: "the above Resolution has my hearty approval."

A lady surgeon and physician writes: "Animals I am far too fond of to be able to perform on their healthy bodies any experiment whatever, and I am glad to say I never did it during my college course."

Another official wrote of his College that the avoidance of vivisection would be enforced as a "matter of *Christian Principle*, and would of course be a governing factor in any appointment."

One of the workers for the American Board for Foreign Missions, writing of the Hindus, said: "Vivisection would be most abhorrent to all their national mode of thought, and to practise it would bring our mission into great disfavour."

These utterances, as well as others to the same effect, gave

Miss Marston the greatest satisfaction, as shewing that not only were her desires acceded to, but that the principles from which they sprang were shared by her colleagues in these missions. And this union between charity towards men and towards animals was once more manifested when, learning that it was intended by certain persons to establish a Pasteur Institute for the treatment of dog-bite in India, Miss Marston determined to do what she could to show to dwellers in that land a better means of treatment.

The excellent results which had always followed the treatment of dog-bite by vapour baths since its first introduction by Dr. Buisson in Paris, had for some time been known to her; she knew that none of the drawbacks of cruelty to animals and danger to patients accompany it, drawbacks which are inseparable from the Pasteur method of inoculation: and she decided to place vapour baths in India at her own expense. For carrying out this purpose Miss Marston turned to two or three colleagues whose names are household words with all who care for the welfare of India. Her deep and practical interest in that wonderful land brought her into contact with these gentlemen, whose large-minded efforts to benefit their compatriots, and whose charity towards animal as well as human suffering assured her of their sympathy and support. With their sagacious and energetic assistance, in initiating and superintending, she supplied 55 stations with some 78 baths in all, in different parts of India, and had the intense satisfaction of learning that the treatment was an unparalleled success; only one case of the many which have been so treated not having been proved absolutely satisfactory. These happy results were what she had expected, inasmuch as wherever the method had previously been carefully carried out similar good results had attended it. This work she virtually carried on to the last week of her life, when, full of years and good deeds, she laid down her pen on the afternoon of December 23rd, and breathed her last on Sunday the 29th at 4 a.m. On that last day of work, she wrote to me that she was sending no Christmas cards, selecting them was "too much for my old eyes. I must keep to my now idle plan, but be quite sure it does not the very least lessen my interest in the many whom I gladly claim still as true friends, even though the course we can still travel together must be very short."

Her life was so long, and her methods of work so unobtrusive, that it is most difficult to give even this rough sketch. Of one quiet, but most valuable piece of work, I would say a word. For many years she lived near the Brompton Consumption Hospital, and felt a great pity for those sick, who had to await their turn for admission as in-patients; for a lengthened time, she, therefore, maintained at her own expense a small house where such persons were received while awaiting admission, and it was only lack of strength for all she had to do, which finally obliged her to give up this charity.

A strong character, "a heart of gold and a will of steel," to quote the admirable description given by the Italians of our beloved Queen of blessed memory, were hers: a firm Churchwoman of the Evangelical school, her sympathies, grounded on her sound reason, placed her in touch with many whom she might not at first sight have been expected to fully understand. Her clear head, her shrewd mind, coupled with a shyness, a modesty and a determination to stand by what was true and right, made of her a guide and a help to all connected with her. Her presence at the meeting of any Society, and her counsels, always made for a higher tone; she would have nothing to do with any trifling with principles for the sake of expediency. Again, the words spoken sixty years ago by the Queen, while still almost a child, depict Miss Marston: "I have been taught to know right from wrong; but as for expediency, I neither understand the word nor ever wish it to be mentioned in my presence."

Born on June 14th, 1808, Miss Marston lost her mother while still a child—her father lived to see her grow up, and by his will shewed his appreciation of the trust that might be placed in her. Though she had seen so much, yet her life had been so consecutive, that over sixty years after his death she told me that, if at any moment during all those years he had returned to this world, he would have found his place ready for him in her home and in her life. Although there was so much of hard work in her daily round, she was by no means one of those who shut themselves off from the more social and æsthetic interests. Her large acquaintance brought her into contact with many minds. One of her great pleasures in her old age was the brilliant career of her godson,

Mr. Flinders Petrie, whose wonderful discoveries in Egypt she followed with the keenest zest. In her earlier and middle life she was a constant attendant at the meetings of the British Association and other scientific gatherings, and was, I am told, herself a good mathematician. In her annual holidays in England and abroad she enjoyed the actual, and brought back experiences and memories of people, and of the beauties of nature and art, which were a pleasure not only to herself but to others. One of her earliest recollections was of seeing the Duke of Wellington when he went, just after the Waterloo campaign, to drink the waters at Cheltenham. Possibly among the most interesting reminiscences was that of her first visit to the Vatican Galleries, on which occasion Gibson, the great sculptor, acted as her guide. She ever remembered his homage to that triumph of the art he himself served so well—the Apollo Belvedere—that incomparable statue which no one can understand who has not seen it face to face in the original. Gibson had pointed out the special beauties of each of the world-renowned statues in turn, but when, on lifting a curtain, he brought her into the presence of the Apollo, he simply pointed to that crowning creation of human artistic genius in absolute silence—in face of its almost miraculous, its truly inexpressible beauty, words to him were impossible.

But whatever she saw, whether she looked on the jewelled peaks of the Alps in the splendour of a winter's dawn, whether she had experience of a ludicrous kind as when she paid a visit long years ago to Llandudno, when a fisherman's cottage with only one room with a boarded floor was the best accommodation to be had for an invalid, whether it was the coronation of the great Queen whose name was to become synonymous with wisdom and goodness, she shewed that if she gave the best part of her life to toil, and often very troublous toil, if she spent herself and her fortune more for others than on herself, it was from no lack of the power to enter into, and enjoy, other sides of life.

No account of Miss Marston would be of any value which did not include mention of her long and rare friendship with Miss Howarth. In the year 1836, early in February, this very attractive lady, just a year all but four days Miss Marston's senior, came to her on a fortnight's visit; the two kindred spirits recognised their kinship at once, and from that day, with the exception of short

periods of absence, the two never left each other again until fifty-two years and two days later, when in February 1888, after a few days' illness, Miss Howarth passed away, leaving Miss Marston to show forth her strength of character and her religious faith during thirteen desolate years. She took up the burden of life at once; courageous and resigned, she lived her life cheerfully in the sight of the world, never seeming to those who did not know her intimately to be looking sadly into the past, or to be changed by her overwhelming sorrow. To herself she always said the separation would not be long; and although it lasted much longer than she had expected, she never flagged, never except in her most intimate life seemed any different from what she had been—the will of steel supported the heart of gold, and enabled it to work on for others. Like each other in essentials, unlike in non-essentials, the life of these devoted friends was one of perfect appreciation, harmony and love. Speaking once of the perceptive knowledge shewn by Miss Howarth on the occasion of a great grief in a friend's home, Miss Marston said to me, "She always knew when it was a matter of the heart." This most perfect relation, bringing, as it did, such happiness to her, gave, one may say, the finishing touch to the life story of Miss Marston, and perfected it. No life, however devoted, however useful or personally beautiful, is complete, unless it comprises a great affection given and returned. In this devoted companionship, as remarkable for its completeness as for its duration, the life of Miss Marston stands out as a perfect, a whole, a noble life, in which old age never blunted the sympathies or the intellectual capacities, or the energy, the spirit shaking itself free of its earthly trammels when possibilities of work were at an end.

I have been asked to place on record some appreciation of my revered friend; I have endeavoured to do so: to show what manner of woman she was. I fear my effort is but crude, for reasons already stated. But I have done enough if I have shewn her as one who could truly say "Thy Word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path." These words to me are the expression of her life: they rose to my lips when on December 29th, 1901, I learned that her summons had come during the early hours of the morning, and that she had passed into her Heavenly Father's Realm.

A. GOFF.

THE CORONATION STONE.

THE Coronation Stone, the fatal Stone, the Stone of Destiny: its history, an oft-told tale, ever misunderstood, swallowed of the credulous, sneered at of the sceptical, yet, in its wildest moment of real meaning and significance, itself "the one primeval monument which binds together the whole empire"—and, therefore, at this season of all others, worth careful consideration. Now the Stone and its Story is a tale of three chapters. There is the mythical narrative, the authentic narrative, and the influence of both in the destinies of our race. As preliminary, it is well to have the Stone before us. It is "a dull reddish or purplish sandstone, with a few small embedded pebbles." It is 26 inches long by 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, and is 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. Its worn surface, the crack which well nigh splits it, the very scrapings and marks of writing on it, intimate endless changes of scene and centuries of eager interest. As all the world knows, it lies under the oak chair in which our kings sit on their Coronation. Now the mythical history runs after this fashion. It was the very block on which the Patriarch Jacob rested his head at Luz, when he had his dream of the opened heavens. A rolling stone for many centuries, it is next found in the hands of Gethalus, son of the Athenian Cecrops, who carried it with him to Egypt. He married Scots, daughter of Pharaoh, from whom, we are assured, the Scots Royal line is descended. According to one version, he was on intimate terms with Moses, who gave him timely warning of the plagues; according to another, he was a survivor of the Red Sea *débâcle*. Anyhow, he fled to Spain, where he founded a kingdom and used the fatal Stone, which he had faithfully lugged about with him (at considerable personal inconvenience, one fancies) for Throne and

Judgment Seat. In those days it was of marble and was beautifully and elaborately sculptured. On it was inscribed the famous distich in melodious Gaelic verse, of which, beside the Gaelic, there is a Latin, an old Scots (by Sellenden), and a modern English version, all to the same effect, to wit, "that where that Stone was there the Scot should reign." For how many centuries this kingdom in Spain flourished one cannot tell. Simon Breck, however, a descendant of Gethalus, receiving the ancestral blessing and the Stone of Destiny, got him westward. As the voyagers drew near the coast of Ireland, the precious relic got overboard in some fashion of its own and seemed lost for ever. Ah! not so easily are the fates baffled. The next time they hove the anchor, why, there you can imagine what they pulled up therewith! Simon and his company presently disembarked and proceeded to a sort of aboriginal plantation of Meath. The Stone was then stuck upon the hill of Tara, and on it he and his successors were through many centuries crowned Kings of Ireland. No senseless block this—nay, the Stone of Destiny took a lively interest in each coronation. Was the new ruler worthy, the Stone received him in cheerful silence, but it greeted the usurper and the false royal with a groan as of thunder! Its next emigration was when it accompanied Fergus, son of Ferchard, to North Britain. Then he reigned as first King of the Scots in Scotland. He built somewhere in Argyle a town called Beregonium, wherein he placed the duad emblem. This, we are assured, was about 371 B.C. Forty kings followed him. Are not their stories extant, writ in choice Latin on Berchaum's pictured page? The twelfth of these was named Evanus. He built Dunstaffnage castle, and there to this very day you are shown the place where the Stone was kept. And then Kenneth MacAlpine conquered the Picts at Scone, and there he fixed the fatal Stone as a memento of his victory and as a coronation chair for all his descendants. And here the mythical story joins on to real historic narrative. Light has already been breaking in here and there. Thus, Fergus, son of Ferchard, is readily identified with Fergus, son of Erc, who reigned in Argyle in the sixth century of the Christian era (a trifle of nine or ten centuries later than his storied counterpart, you note), though there is no evidence that he had anything to do with the Stone. It appears very distinctly, however, in 1249, in the coronation of Alexander III, then a boy of eight. The story is

writ large in Fordun. We are assured that no King of Scotland could reign unless he had been placed upon this fatal Stone, which was covered for the occasion with cloth of gold. The Earl of Fife of hereditary right set the crown on the king's head. One strange element was the apparition of an ancient Highland *Sennachy*, or bard, who, kneeling with bent head before the throne, recited in his own tongue the genealogy of the Scots kings—an uninviting collection of Macs up to MacGethalus or even to MacAdam! A striking scene that ceremonial, even then an old-time business. The ancient monuments around, the crowds that gathered near, and far off the mighty masses of the Grampians, giving then, as now, a touch of mysterious weird fascination to the landscape! However, the point for us is—here is the Stone in authentic history, already sacred, potent, linked with a dim far distant past. But one other Scots king, and that was Edward's nominee, John Balliol, was crowned there. That was in 1292, and four years afterwards the Stone was in Westminster Abbey.

There are some who still profess to credit the strange old legend. Absurd! Yet had the narrative a very real meaning and purpose. True it is we cannot trace the Stone to any place beyond Scone, not even to Dunstaffnage. Geologists say, it is exactly the thing you would expect to find in Perthshire; nor can any weight be given to the alternative theory which identifies it with the stone on which St. Columba rested his dying head at Iona in 597. Indeed, this last legend detracts from its impressiveness. Yet sure are we it had a long history before 1249, though the details we cannot tell. We know that the Celtic races crowned their kings on sacred stones. A noble legend runs that Stonehenge was bodily removed from Naas in Ireland to Salisbury Plain by the magic art of Merlin, that it might serve for Coronation Throne to Arthur, that half mythic *Flos Regum*. And so we know that the fatal chair was used for generations of kings, before the true dawn of our history. Yes, but why the legend? Now, of the four countries which compose the heart of the Empire—England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland—England is very much the predominant partner, to use a modern phrase. She acquired Wales and Ireland, and seemed like to acquire Scotland too. In the last analysis, no doubt, it was a question of force, but letters were called in to strengthen the claim. Britain (so ran the southern legend) was so called

from Brute or Brutus, great-grandson of Æneas, who came to those parts, destroyed the giants who inhabited them and established a mighty dominion. His eldest son was Locrinus, who ruled over England, his youngest was Allanactus, and he had Scotland, and as youngest son ought of course to be in subjection to his brother, and, therefore, Scotland was a vassal kingdom to England ! Thus, in substance, Geoffrey of Monmouth. To this the Scots legend, which attained its fullest form in Hector Boece (more than three centuries after Geoffrey, however) was a complete, not to say crushing, answer. It despised profane history and linked its wondrous tale on to sacred annals. Also it had valuable material evidence. How could you doubt the story when there was the Stone ? Even to-day the rustic mind thinks the story true because it is in print, and in those delightful middle ages, when everything seemed possible, such stories were greedily swallowed. The literary man at that time had considerable advantages. He was a priest and he wrote in Latin, which of itself gave a dignity and sanctity to the meanest utterance. He could crib from his predecessors and no one ever asked him for his authority. Quotation marks and references were alike unheard of. Critics were not yet invented, fortunately for themselves, as their utterances had surely been condemned as a peculiarly dangerous form of heresy. True, as no laymen could read, your audience was limited, but the story, if *ben trovato* (and that, after all, was the main point) ultimately permeated the mass through oral communication. Literature produced under such conditions depends on anything but veracity for its interest and importance. To add another miracle to the life of a Saint, or to string on a few centuries to the annals of your country or your kings was a pious fraud in which the ancient author indulged with the most sincere fervour. When Edward I. removed the Stone in 1296, he seemed almost to smash up the whole kingdom. The Scots were terribly depressed ; they obtained from the Pope a full religious consecration for their kings, but that was but cold comfort. Edward had the Stone enclosed in the chair, and "the fragment of the world-old Celtic races imbedded in new Plantagenet oak," as Dean Stanley eloquently said. There it stands to-day, the oak a trifle battered by the centuries, yet still fit and serviceable. A little odd, after all, that

it was so immediately and so fervently accepted as the English Coronation Chair. Why not have looked nearer home? At this very day there stands in the Market Place at Kingston-on-Thames the Stone on which seven early Saxon Kings, from Edward the Elder to Ethelred (901-979) were crowned. That stone had an earlier authentic history than the Stone of Destiny itself, and yet no one pressed its claims. In fact, the Scots legend gradually ousted the other, and became matter for devout belief over all Britain. By the Treaty of Northampton in 1328 England renounced all claims over Scotland and agreed to restore the Stone, but the good folk of London had their own mind as to that. Not a prentice lad in the city but his blood boiled at the very idea. The mob rose in fury and quenched a half-hearted attempt at removal. (The philosophic student of history may see in the threatened riot on the removal of Jumbo, some years since, the same dislike of the London cit to the loss of his idol, be it stone or beast.) The point was not pressed, perhaps the Scots thought of the famous prophecy, perhaps they were better occupied. At any rate, "that chair where Kings and Queens are crowned" was left at Westminster, and therein every English Sovereign sat, save Edward V., that uncrowned and cruelly murdered babe in the Tower. Well, the prophecy was in one sort fulfilled when James VI. succeeded Elizabeth in 1603, as James I. of Britain, and you may be sure every courtly man of letters dwelt on the circumstance. The learned Speed in particular comments in stately fashion on the distich "which antiquity hath recorded to have been inscribed thereon." There is still a groove visible which may in some unknown period have carried writing. And in all these years only once has the Stone been out of the Abbey, and that was in 1653, when His Highness Oliver Cromwell was enthroned Lord Protector of these realms in the "Chair of Scotland," carried into Westminster Hall for the occasion and carried back immediately thereafter. Prosaic eighteenth century mocked at it, as it did at much else. Sir Roger de Coverley thought, as he sat on it, "How, had Will Wimble been there, he had cut a tobacco stopper out of it." Oliver Goldsmith confessed that he "could see no curiosity either in the oak chair or in the Stone." And the very last touch of irreverence was reached by a certain droll, one Peter Abbott, who hid himself in the Abbey on the 5th July, 1800, and slept all night in the Royal seat, thus uneasily yet splendidly parodying the slumber

of its more legitimate occupants! And you will look at it merely as a piece of "dull red sandstone," or as, in truth, the fatal Stone touched with the charm of all its centuries of far-reaching association, according as you are a Peter Abbott, or one who can recognise in things seen, the symbol of the unseen.

FRANCIS WATT.

SOCIALISM AND LABOUR PARTY IN AUSTRALIA: ROCKS AHEAD.

WHEN Andrew Carnegie wrote his famous book, "Triumphant Democracy," he had in view the United States : he referred to young America. He purposely, also, ignored anarchy and the anarchist questions ; the murder of President Mackinley, at Buffalo, proves that the doctrine of the anarchist is not one to be safely ignored. If Carnegie had referred to New Australia, (as it is the Australia of the larrikins of Sydney, the unprincipled politicians and the petty tyrants of the Labour Party), he would, given his sagacious and observant mind, have rather entitled his book : "Triumphant Socialism," or, still better, "On the Road to Anarchy."

Of course the casual observer sees nothing of the kind, *primâ facie*, in Australia ; the shouts for the King and for Old England are still thundering at public meetings or banquets presided over by politicians, some of them more or less coveting a baronetcy. But, in reality, the political power is in the hands of the Labour Party, powerfully organised in leagues and unions, having their leaders, their passwords and secret statutes, and ready for the wildest experiments on the body politic, delivered to their political scalpels like a corpse. It is such men who have succeeded in giving to the State in Australia an omnipotence which appears simply paradoxical to a people with such individualistic tendencies as the Anglo-Saxons. They had understood that the only way to success for their party was to render the State omnipotent, so as to possess themselves of absolute power in controlling closely the acts of their creatures in Parliament. The real danger to Australia is not in the number of their votes (although this is not a negligible quantity), but because they have no sort of political principles whatever : their only aim is to hold unmercifully the balance of

power between the parties scrambling for portfolios and places in the Cabinet, for which they do not themselves care, being simply resolute to vote only in the interest of the party which will accept blindly their fantastic schemes. The desire to have, *per fas et nefas*, a majority is such, that it is very rare that one or another of the contending parties does not accept gladly their proffered assistance, closing their eyes to the terrible price which has to be paid to them in exchange! The same ways used, formerly, in the local Parliaments of the several States, now federated, are sure to be used, with the same effect, in the lower Chamber of the Federal Parliament at Melbourne. When some important measure is submitted to the votes of the New Australian Parliament, it is perfectly hopeless to expect a solution from the wisdom of the members, or based on the merit of the measure; the solution will depend on a vote, passed on the sly by the men of the Labour Party, or the so-called Independents, their faithful allies at heart. The vote, in one sense or another, will be given by reason of the engagements made with the Labour Party, either by the Cabinet or the Opposition; so it comes about that, thanks to such immoral bargains, the most incoherent or absurd propositions can pass readily in Australia.

Even the simplest dictates of common sense have to be occasionally reversed. In New South Wales, before the Federation, Mr. Sullivan, Minister of Public Works, decided that all labourers employed by the State, and all those without work, joining the camps or provisional workshops, should receive seven shillings per day, adding to his decision the interesting personal commentary, that, in his mind, "the law of this minimum wage was as firmly fixed (save the mark!) as the law of gravitation in nature!" One is reminded, on hearing such nonsense, of the advice of the Latin poet: "*Risum teneatis, amici?*" as if the value of money and of the articles of consumption was not variable, and essentially so. There are some moments when 7 shillings constitute a good salary; at other times an exaggerated salary; at other times, again, a salary altogether insufficient. To speak of this valuation as a law as fixed as the law of gravitation, is not likely to commend itself to the good sense of the public. To pay a fixed salary, without taking into consideration the sort or amount of work produced, is simply to hamper the

natural development of the resources of a country, where the labour market is no more submitted to the law of supply and demand.

The price of wheat, of wool, of metals, of cattle, is fixed, outside of Australia, at the universal market rate, and the farmer-proprietor cannot bind himself, in advance, to pay 7 shillings per day, all the time, to all his workmen, indiscriminately. He has to reckon with the seasons, the drought, the storm, the insects, the inundations. If the Labour Party could obtain from a faithful Parliament a solid guarantee of good crops, abundant rains, eager and generous purchasers, and a remunerative price for all the products of the land, there would be no difficulty at all in the way of wages. But the Labour Party has not the same control over these things as over the votes of the politicians.

When the State is the employer, all goes well, the Public Treasury pays, and there is an end of it. The misfortune is that the labourers of the country, who receive only one pound sterling a week, with board and lodging, regard themselves as injured, and, leaving the fields, proceed, in large parties, to the Office for the Unemployed, opened at the Town Hall of Sydney, in order to receive the "State" 7 shillings per day; and so it happens that the camps, the workshops filled with men nominally employed to break stones, to build vaguely surveyed roads, or to paint over and over some barricades, are in reality, full of idle men, living, purely and simply, at the expense of the State. The irrigation works have to wait. These Australian camps are a revival, under an aggravated form, of our French *ateliers nationaux* of 1348 of sombre memory, and, in the mean time, it is impossible to obtain the labourers needed for the country, and the farmers are forced to gather their crops, the best they can, assisted by their wives and children, whilst a number of men, strong and absolutely unoccupied, throng the streets of Sydney, waiting for the daily 7 shillings of the Government, as certain for them as the law of gravitation, and which, in the end, will have to be extracted, as taxes, from the pocket of the farmer, his wife and children, bending over the furrow on a deserted field.

The sheep-owners, being no longer able to obtain labourers, save at an inflated price, do nothing but what is strictly necessary, viz., shear the wool off their sheep, and send it to the market; the leaders

of the Labour Party care nothing about such a scene of country misery and abandonment. Nothing stops them in their wild career.

It is interesting, in that line, to examine the attempts made by them, in Sydney, to limit the hours of work, and, in particular, the law passed by the Parliament of New South Wales, for the closing of the shops at 6 o'clock p.m. and the provision of a full half-holiday per week, to the employees, outside of Sunday.

By this law the hours of closing are fixed as follows : Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, at 6 p.m., Wednesday at 1 p.m., and Saturday at 10 p.m. Some trades are excepted : the hair-dressers can keep their shops open until 7-30 p.m., and, on Saturday at 10 p.m., if at the time of closing, there are customers waiting, 30 minutes of grace are allowed to serve them. The chemists, florists, and dispensaries, can remain open until 9 p.m., and on Saturday up to 11. Fruit and vegetable sellers, tobacco shops, confectioners, newspaper stands, hotels, and the last, but not the least, undertakers, are authorised to close every day at 11 p.m. only. As for restaurants, bars, fish-markets, oyster depôts and shops where cooked food is sold, but not consumed, they alone have permission to remain open till midnight. All other shops must be closed at 6 p.m., and all the employees, without exception, must have a full half-day of liberty, per week, under penalty of a fine for the employer.

This law has met with great difficulties when put into practice at Sydney, and numberless claims have arisen. Not that the employers did not agree, on principle, to grant as large a time as possible to their employees for recreation and exercise, but the law was not taking into account the severity of the dull half of the season, for certain trades, and the exigencies of the active season for others, and had passed, indiscriminately, its rulings over all the branches of business, to the damage of a great many of them. It is well known in England, that one of the most liberal of men, Sir John Lubbock, once introduced a bill proposing that if two-thirds of the business men of a locality decided that they would close their places at a certain hour of the day, the other third should comply with the decision. In the Australian law there is no option : every one must close at the fixed time, or pay the fine. The English Bill was, therefore, comparatively liberal : still it was rejected for two reasons :

the first was that it violated the unalienable right of every adult person to dispose of his work as he desired : the trader who works alone, without employees, can justly say that, in keeping his place open up to the hour that he wishes, within proper limits, he simply does what men of the liberal professions are allowed to do all the world over : the second reason was that the buyers, the public at large, would be, by these forced closings, put to all sorts of inconvenience. Lord Salisbury, with the strong common sense which is his best quality, voted unhesitatingly against the measure, explaining that freedom of action alone can solve such questions, and that the very doubtful good likely to be produced by the bill, would be far from compensating for its evil consequences.

It is only fair to say that the same arguments which triumphed in England had been offered, sometimes very eloquently, in the Sydney Parliament. Many members felt that absolute rest on Sundays, pressure of commercial competition, and respect for the individual liberty of the citizens, made such a law a bad law, and, what is more, impracticable. But the Labour Party had issued its "Fiat" and the measure passed. This same question occupies, just now, certain minds in France and also in India, at least in the progressive circles, because a movement of this kind corresponds, in principles, to a just idea, if restricted within safe bounds. The Australian exaggerations on this subject may serve as a lesson, everywhere, to the public men who are disposed to bring before the powers that be the claims of the labourers in their respective countries. A mutual understanding of employers and employees, arrived at after a full and free discussion, is the only solution likely to succeed, in exclusion of any and all such draconian laws.

In the remarks which precede, as in the following ones, I mention particularly New South Wales, as being the State where I have been able to observe things from a nearer standpoint, but my observations apply to all the States of the Australian Federation. The State of Victoria is even in advance on New South Wales ; there, they have not hesitated to pass a law, fixing the minimum of the salary for certain trades. New South Wales has only established this minimum for the salaries paid by the State, and for the men out of work, which has been enough to strain the economic situation of the community ; but they did not dare, at Sydney, go so far as at

Melbourne : anyhow, they are bound to come to it : it is the fatal race on the road which leads to the absorption of everything by the State. See what has happened in Victoria. If the workmen, by want of skill or force, fail to gain properly the minimum salary fixed by law, the employers dismiss them pitilessly. Elsewhere, they reduce their establishment to the lowest limit ; it is the struggle for life. The result is that the relations between employers and employees become every day more strained. The workmen who receive the legal salary in full, are contented enough ; the others, who could live with less, fall into misery. There is a plethora of labourers in the towns, and none to be found for the country. In conclusion, it is not a law of progress ; it is a step backwards, and a bad law.

At Melbourne the leaders of the Labour Party have proposed a solution which has, at least, the double merit of originality and simplicity ; they simply declare that any workman who, for want of skill or physical strength, is unable to find an employer willing to give him the minimum salary, ought to receive an equivalent annuity from the State. This is, you will confess it, pure aberration : but one may be sure that, as water always finds its level, the other States of the Federation will adopt the same measure, absurd as it is, one day or other. Such is the inflexible will of the Labour Party !

In New Zealand the Syndicates or Unions are absolute masters of the situation. There, an employer, having to choose between two workmen in the line of his trade, is bound to employ the one belonging to the Syndicate or Union of the Trade, simply because he belongs to it ! A more hateful tyranny never existed ; the law, instead of being impartial, acts to the direct prejudice of those who refuse to part with their liberty, with their manhood, and to be enlisted, soul and body, in an impersonal Union.

Does it not seem to you, in India, that there is in all these measures something brutal, wicked, and, let us say, foolish ? The tyranny of the masses is many times worse and more depressing than the tyranny of one man, which the French Revolution of 1789 abolished, for ever, in our country. Why erect the statue of Despotism from below, after having scattered to the winds the statue of Despotism from a throne ?

The strikes, in Australia, are of a very special nature, and an occasion for the Labour Party to exercise its absolute power. We have seen a very curious illustration of the fact in Western Australia. There the station-master at one of the towns on the railroad, which it is useless to name here, being incompetent and a drunkard, was removed by the railway authorities. Immediately, the employees of the station, those of all the line, guards, firemen, gatesmen, etc., struck work, as one man, putting out of order the whole service, and stopping the traffic of the country. The authorities could do nothing, but reinstate the station-master. No administration is possible under such conditions. The strike caused heavy losses to the mines of Karlgoolie and Coolgardie.

In 1900 the mechanics and the bakers of Sydney went on strike; they asked for a day of 8 hours' work, and a minimum salary of 7 shillings. They, also, were of the opinion that the minimum of seven shillings was as invariable as the law of gravitation. The lesson, given by the Minister of Public Works of New South Wales, had borne its natural fruits, and the strikers carried the day.

When labourers, in Australia, refuse to join the Unions of their trades, they are pursued by the hatred and abuse of the Unionists. I have seen many strikes, and not one of them where the strikers did not summon urgently the employers to recognise the Union of the trade on strike, a summons which I have always seen rejected emphatically by the employers, who knew perfectly well that if they acceded to such a demand, they would deprive themselves, by their own hands, of the help of the free labourers, on the day when the leaders of the Labour Party would have decided to force the crisis to an issue, and to fight to the bitter end.

It is a recognised fact that the waste of public funds is considerable in Australia; it seems that, when money (public money, of course) is concerned, the moral sense, in certain classes, mostly among the politicians, seems to be obliterated. We, sometimes, in France, complain, and justly so, about the management, for example, of some of our public charities, and of "L'Assistance Publique"; but the critics have never been able to produce against it a fact like the following: at Sydney, in 1900, it was proved that the Board of the Metropolitan Charities Association had received for the poor of a certain district £1,120, and that only £31 had been distributed, the balance having

been spent in salaries, stationery, gifts, telegraphs, telephones, stamps travelling, carriages, refreshments, and other sundries; and the most curious part of it all was that no indignation whatever was expressed by the public or the press. Of course, this is only a small matter, but it shows very well which way the wind blows.

Some weeks before the Federation, in November 1900, certain members of the New South Wales Parliament proposed that they be supplied with free passes for life on the State Railroads, that it was the last independent local Parliament before the Union, and that such passes would form a kind of *souvenir* for them and their families. The press protested against the granting of so costly a *souvenir*, on such a slender pretext, and the proposal was withdrawn, amid the laughter of the public in the gallery, not derisive, but, on the contrary, rather sympathetic; the proposal was so truly Australian!

It is to the influence of the Labour Party that New South Wales owes the hurried proposal and voting of the Bill for Old Age Pensions. Such a subject awakens naturally the sympathy of all, but it is extremely difficult to handle. The Labour Party cares very little about the question of providing the funds for the pensions, either by the capitalisation of part of the wages set apart for the purpose, or by a limited and special taxation completing the payment of the would-be pensioners. Its way of proceeding is much simpler; it draws straight from the Treasury all the funds necessary, and to replenish the coffers it taxes the public up to the limit of the necessary amount. If we wanted to work such a law in France it would cost us, simply in pensions, a billion francs yearly. So, it has surprised nobody to hear a clear-minded man, and wise administrator, like the Premier, Mr. Edmund Barton, declare openly to Parliament that the state of the finances does not permit of the Federation to consider the question of Old Age Pensions. If Parliament was called upon to unite and consolidate into one all the laws existing in the several States on this subject, there is not the shadow of a doubt that the Labour Party would choose that which is the more liberal in its terms, and the result would be, after about ten years, an annual charge of 3 to 4 millions pounds sterling on the Federal Treasury, which means either a highly protective customs

tariff, or direct taxation so heavy that the capital would have to migrate to more merciful climes. It is doubtful whether the *Federal Government* will ever be able to tackle the question. They will let every State do as it pleases, in its own way, managing the best it can its own Pension Fund. The complete moral fusion of the States will be delayed from the fact of this great provincial interest, the Old Age Pensions, remaining (not absorbed, being inabsorbable) out of the control of the Federal Parliament.

As a possible remedy for the excesses of Socialism, some Australian politicians, pure dreamers, extol the vote of women as being of a nature to bring possibly a better equipoise, and a safer and soberer element in the electoral body. On the 27th of November, 1900, the Legislative Assembly at Sydney admitted by law the women of the State to vote; they could only vote, but be neither candidates nor elected to a seat in the Legislature. The Legislative Council had not the time to confirm the vote, and the law has, consequently, never been officially enacted: but the first step has been taken. The growing number of the Socialistic votes, and the rash policy of the Labour Party may, some day, force the Federal Parliament to accept legally the votes of the Australian women, as a sort of moral obstacle. But the remedy seems to me very precarious: to put a silk thread, where it would be necessary to have a steel cable, is rather insufficient.

To whatever side we turn, we find the situation in Australia more grave than it appears on the surface, and it will remain so, so long as the balance of power lies in the hands of the Labour Party, or, as men out of work receive from the State wages higher than the agricultural labourers for work actually done in the fields. The crisis, being economic, will be much more difficult to overcome than the financial crisis of 1893. Capital will emigrate, all private enterprises being paralyzed, the employers submitted to a kind of terrorism; confidence will totally disappear, and all this will end, perhaps sooner than the world believes, in a violent revolution, which it is not necessary to have the genius of a Tocqueville to foresee. It is no longer a question of applying or repelling the economical theories (let us say, the unwholesome dreams) of Schaeffle and other socialists and communists of his kind. It is simply a matter of "to be or not to be," and the Federal Union, whose glorious birth,

under the Southern Cross, was saluted by the hearty wishes of the civilized world, is bound to be a failure, if the common-sense of the public and of the true statesmen of the Melbourne Parliament does not succeed in rendering harmless, by healthy legislation, the sinister influence of the Labour Party, such as it exists to-day in Australia.

L. VOSSION.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE.

(A PERSONAL SKETCH.)

THE time is so near when the Anglo-Indians of the early Victorian period will be all gone, that the departure from the scene of one of the most remarkable of their younger members may be worth a passing notice. They were a hardy and vigorous crew, and went through an enormous expenditure of mental and bodily exertion without undue damage. But half a century must do its work even on the most vigorous of mortals; and we have had numerous reminders of the fact in the last few years. Sir James Abbott and Sir Richard Pollock, Sir Neville Chamberlain and Sir Richard Temple have all departed, within a few months of one another, and it may be useful to take notice of the latest loss, and not the least remarkable personality.

For Temple, while sharing some of the qualities of the school formed by Lawrence and Dalhousie, had strong peculiarities of his own. In his unwavering confidence in the blessings of British rule, his unshakeable belief in the omnipotence of good administration, his courage, energy and constant industry, he resembled the best of his compeers. Yet there were respects in which he stood alone, differing from other men both by his strong points and his not very detrimental foibles. He had an appearance and manner which laid him open to good-humoured badinage—expressed among his earlier contemporaries by the would-be humorous nickname “Bumble.” But he was actuated by an honourable determination to distinguish himself, even from his school days. Educated at Rugby, under Arnold, he rose to the top of the school by dint of application and sound scholarship. It was “classics” that won success in those days; had it been anything else he would have done whatever

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hard work would do. When he left school for Haileybury, he availed himself to the full of such advantages as were afforded by that not very highly organised place of instruction, taking a good number of prizes and passing out in the first class. In his last term he gained the Essay prize, and it was noted that he headed his composition with a motto from Homer expressing the intention:—

“Still to excel and always be the best.”

In the strength of that endeavour he proceeded to join the ranks of the Indian Civil Service. Marrying early, he became apprenticed to the collector of Muttra, Mr. Thornton, under whom he soon acquired the rudiments of his arduous profession; and did so well that, in the second year of his service, he was selected for employment in the then newly acquired Province of the Punjab. Early in 1851 he became Assistant Commissioner in the Jalandar Doab under John Lawrence; and when that masterful man rose to be Chief Commissioner of the Punjab—under which modest title was veiled an almost unlimited monarchy subject to Dalhousie's general inspiration and control—Temple was made Secretary. In that capacity he first displayed those powers of hard work and of graphic, though somewhat pompous, official eloquence, which were to become characteristic of his future career.

The policy by which the Chief Commissioner and his Secretary converted to loyalty and welfare an anarchic Province that had waged an obstinate and nearly equal war against the Empire for the last five years, was one of the most creditable episodes of modern history. The Punjab in Hardinge's time had been in an almost hopeless condition; ruled by a dominant military class whose army, drilled by European officers of the Napoleonic school, was full of *esprit-de-corps* and enthusiasm such as had never been exceeded since the day of Cromwell's Ironsides. The Sikh soldiers fixed their own pay, made and unmade civil rulers, dictated national measures, and finally invaded British India. Yet scarcely had Dalhousie—who succeeded Hardinge—laid down the burden of his office when the Mutiny shook the imperial fabric; and by that time not only was the Sikh army ready to break the force of the rebellion, but the Punjab had become the most orderly and faithful province of the empire. This almost miraculous transformation was mainly the work of John Lawrence and his Secretary, whose measures were

described by the latter in a Report which is well summarised in the able History of Captain Trotter, entitled "India under Victoria." The document bears marks both of Temple's cultured pen and the stern, practical mind of his master, and is a most creditable specimen of Anglo-Indian apologetics. Free from official optimism, it told a tale of honest effort ; not forcing European ideas upon an unprepared people, but directing their intrinsic industry into channels beneficial to themselves.

Those were the days in which Temple was at his best, and founded all the fabric of his future prosperity. For, although by no means destitute of initiative, it was above all by his qualities as an able and loyal subordinate that he was formed to shine. In after days he was ready to acknowledge how independent Lawrence had been of secretarial suggestion. Often enough, indeed, the Chief Commissioner would listen patiently to all that his Secretary laid before him, and then dictate a minute to an absolutely opposite effect. In one thing, however, both were in accord; and this agreement was more fortunate than pleasant to those concerned. "We made a rule," Temple said, "of requiring from our officers more than they could possibly perform ; and so, you see, we were sure of getting something done."

At the end of five years the administrative crusade had attained complete success; the once lawless province was a land of order and prosperity over which Lawrence ruled with the aid of a staff of officials trained by himself: among them being John Nicholson, Herbert Edwardes, Robert Napier—the future captor of Magdala, and, above all, Robert Montgomery, with whose co-operation Temple prepared a code of Law "with special reference to the known peculiarities of the people." (Aitchison.) In 1856 he took advantage of a lull in the work to go to Europe on private affairs—being, indeed, quite human, despite some rather blunt banter of which he was sometimes made a victim by John Lawrence. During Temple's absence the Punjab was exposed to the fiery trial of the Mutiny; and it is no exaggeration to say that, but for the Chief and his officers, Delhi would not have been taken until the arrival of an army from home and the practical conquest of entire Hindustan. Temple returned as quickly as possible; and in 1858 he became Commissioner-prefect of the metropolitan Division of Lahore,

answerable for the administration of nine thousand square miles of territory—considerably larger than the whole area of Wales—with a population of about two millions. This might seem a sufficient responsibility for the man of thirty-two, but more was soon to come. In 1861 a new administration was created by joining part of Berar with part of Upper India under the title of "Central Provinces"; and the young Civilian found himself made the first Chief Commissioner—under that inexpressive style, and subject to the general control of the Viceroy. Temple now ruled a tract of country as large as the kingdom of Italy. Everything was to be created or reformed in this wide region, stretching from the slopes of the Vindhyan range to the banks of the Godavari, and inhabited by races of whom some were Hindoos in a high state of social organisation, others being shy savages wandering over hidden mountain jungles. The whole had been at once neglected and ill-governed, the administration mostly confined to a system of rack-renting. Many problems thus presented themselves, with which Temple grappled with his usual energy. A tireless horseman, he visited every corner of his wild dominions, looking into all things with a shrewd, observant eye. Before he got his next advancement he had brought the new Province into its due place in the Imperial Kosmos. It was the work of six busy years, for details of which Captain Trotter's already cited work may be again consulted. ("India under Victoria," ii. 190).

In 1867 Temple obtained fresh recognition in a new field of usefulness, being appointed to the important office of Resident at the Court of the Nizam; but before the end of the year he was called upon to undertake the still more difficult duties of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. This department involved not only the relations of the State with out-lying powers like Afghanistan, but also the control of such offices as Temple had held for a few months at Hyderabad; and to this was further added the ultimate administrative power over what were called "Non-regulation Provinces," such as his penultimate post at Nagpore. The Indian Viceroys, like William the Third—our last governing king—usually retain the Foreign Office in their own hands; and the then Viceroy was John Lawrence. That he should have selected his quondam Secretary as colleague in the Department, is abundant proof of the confidence

inspired by experience. Had Lawrence not felt sure of Temple's zeal, loyalty and capacity for work, no feeling of personal friendship would have led to the appointment. Temple, however, did not hold the post long, being soon made a Member of Council and put in charge of the Ministry of Finance. Now, for the first time, the versatile administrator held a position for which he was not very well fitted, either by nature or acquired habits: and the result was what might have proved injurious to a man of less energy and resource. At the Indian Exchequer Temple was hardly a success. His nature was sanguine, and he was used to immediate results; but he was now in a situation where he was dependent on the work of others, and on a nice but tedious calculation of past, present and future. His buoyant temper habituated him to take optimistic views, and led him to "budget for a surplus" in his first year. Once more, in a moment of crisis, he was away from India, having gone home in 1869, leaving the Treasury in a condition which presently revealed a deficit about equivalent to two millions sterling. Strong measures were immediately adopted by Lord Mayo, the new Viceroy; and the finances were balanced by the end of the official year. Until his premature and tragic decease, Mayo kept a sharp look-out on the Imperial accounts; and his successor, Lord Northbrook, bringing his calm wisdom to bear upon the subject, scandal was reduced to a minimum in this, always the weakest, element of Anglo-Indian administration. It is in no spirit of carping that historians have to observe the chronic disorder of Indian Finance: the ever-recurring problem of a civilised Government with a savage income has yet to be surmounted; and the only blame that can attach to Temple for not solving it must be that he acted as if it did not exist.

But he held on as best he might, with his usual tenacity, rewarded in 1874. In that year the failure of the monsoon rains entailed an alarming scarcity in the east of India; and the London papers, being in want of a sensational topic, started the proposition that the Indian authorities were personally to answer for a single death due to starvation. In natural alarm, those authorities turned to the sanguine, vigorous, and docile subordinate who had served so well in the Punjab and Central Provinces. Temple was deputed to represent the Government of India in Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor at once laid down his office; Temple took his place and

found the great opportunity of his life. A vast display of energy and expenditure ensued ; carriage was improvised, supplies were poured into the country ; out-door relief was afforded to the impotent ; the stronger were set to work ; out of a population of fifty millions not fifty deaths were ascribed to hunger ; the outlay amounted to a sum equivalent to six millions of English sterling. How far that vast campaign was called for was much disputed ; a flippant journal in Calcutta criticising, as it did, the conduct of the Government, attributed to the Bengalee Babus the gibe that “ His Honour had *held a famine* ” ; Temple, on the other hand, observing that the real extent of a crisis could not be fairly estimated by the success with which it had been encountered ; had the distress become acute and abnormal, then—and then only—his measures would have merited censure. In any case, the credit of the Government was saved, and Temple was rewarded by the bestowal of a Baronetcy.

Unhappily, the critics had, ere long, another cause for carping. In 1877 a famine of undoubted severity afflicted a large part of the south and west of India. By that time Lord Lytton had succeeded Lord Northbrook, and his Prime-Minister, Sir John Strachey, is believed to have inspired the administration with more cautious principles. Once more the services of Sir R. Temple were in requisition ; this time to restrain rather than to stimulate. The Madras Government—then under the Duke of Buckingham—being suspected of a tendency to extravagance, Temple was deputed to lay before his Grace, and his councillors, an exposition of the policy favoured at headquarters. A story, current at the time, exhibits—probably in the form of a myth—a prevailing estimate of the matter ; after Temple had addressed the Madras Council, he is said to have been answered by Robert Ellis, the ablest and most influential member, with the serio-comic query—“ why he had not given earlier intimation that this was to be a cheap famine ? We might all have been Baronets by this time.” Necessarily, the views of the Supreme Government prevailed ; but the famine proved anything but cheap : the extraordinary expenditure was nearly double of the amount complained of on the former occasion, but an appalling mortality testified to the disadvantage of endeavouring to economise in the beginning ; the loss of life exceeding the normal deaths by about five and a half millions. Needless to say that no blame attached to Temple, who

had merely enforced the instructions of his employers, and who was speedily rewarded with further promotion in the shape of the Governorship of the Bombay Presidency. In that position he was fortunate enough to escape the trials of calamity. In ordinary times a Governor of Bombay or Madras is aided by a Council, while initiative and responsibility are alike diverted by the supremacy of the Governor-General : and Temple was wont to say that he had more real power in the Lieutenancy of Bengal. Nevertheless, he by no means relaxed his vigilant application to business ; adding to an almost encyclopædic acquaintance with India, and storing his portfolio with more of the picturesque paintings in which he showed so much artistic observation and skill.

Temple's Indian career closed in 1880, when he laid down the reins at Bombay and bade adieu to the Dependency that he had served for more than a generation. But he did not mean to be shelved. As a member of the House of Commons he became a familiar figure, while his experience of Indian Finance procured him similar employment on the reduced, but still important, scale of the London School Board. His work in Parliament, indeed, was not more noticeable than that of men of his class in general. There is but little in the life of an Indian official to give the training needed for senatorial distinction. Like Dr. Johnson's "Libyan lion," he has been wont to "rage without resistance and roar without reply." In Temple's case peculiarities of appearance and manner enhanced the difficulties due to lack of appropriate training ; yet on his own subject he was heard with as much attention as a Chamber of political partisans is wont to bestow on a subject removed from party interest. But a homely phrase of our ancestors reminds us that it is hard to teach an old dog new tricks.

Allusion has been made to Temple's singularities ; and they were emphasised by the unsparing pencil of political caricature. Nevertheless, they were not wholly disadvantageous ; he had a penetrating way of looking at one, his smile was very genial, and his entire bearing bespoke intelligence and manly good nature. He was an intrepid horseman, a good writer, and a delineator of landscape and architecture, who might have taken a high place as an artist if he had made art his profession. But all these things were secondary gifts, however instrumental to his success in life. The

main thing was that a country gentleman of no special rank or genius was able, by dint of industry and obedience to orders, to take every prize that Anglo-Indian life had to bestow, and to fill a respectable place in the more complicated and competitive life of London after his Indian career had come to a close. In addition to his Baronetcy, Temple, at the time of his death, was a Privy Councillor, a Grand Cross of the Star, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an Honorary graduate of more than one British University. And he has left in many hearts a recollection of kindly friendship, that will never pass away but with existence. It is a record of which a man's family may well be proud, and fully justifies the motto of his College essay, "Always to excel."

The moral of the story is surely not obscure. The relations of India to the Empire are unprecedented ; a vast expanse of country, partly tropical and wholly exposed to peculiar climatic conditions, inhabited by a number of races different in respect of language, creed, and civilisation, being ruled by a handful of aliens. The Spanish operations in America, during the sixteenth century, present superficial points of comparison, but differ in the most essential respect. The crusades of Cortez and Pizarro were a blend of missionary enterprise and naked lust of gold : conquest overspread the lands of Peru and Mexico with a destructive flood which swept away almost every trace of the indigenous institutions. But when the temples of the natives had been mingled with the palaces of their kings in a common and irretrievable ruin, the conquerors mixed freely with the conquered, introducing their laws and establishing their religion ; so that in all those vast and varied regions native life disappeared, giving way to a number of Catholic communities of half-castes. In India, on the other hand, no attempt has been made at colonisation, if we except the Portuguese settlement at Goa ; the various populations retain their laws, languages and worship ; all that is aimed at is peace, order, and purity of administration. For such work the Government requires in its agents unquestioning obedience and the consecration of all capacities to untiring labour. Such qualifications were possessed by Temple ; and the possession made him a typical and most successful member of the Indian Civil Service.

H. G. KEENE.

DUST.

AS I sat one day, lacking the joy and enthusiasm of life, and felt as if made of entirely common clay, of earth earthy, with all the sense of inner life dimmed within me, a voice spake in my ear. "Is common clay so dull, after all, as it seems? Be not blinded by appearances; look more closely and see." And I took down my microscope from the shelf of oblivion, finding it covered over with the dust of time. And I pulled the instrument out of its case, and placing a glass slide on its stage, shook a bit of that very dust on to it. Then placing my eye over the eye-piece I turned the focussing screw, and behold! huge boulders of shining white granite rose up to the field of my vision. The dust had ceased to be commonplace, and revealed to me its solid rocky nature. Then I took some sand and some clay and the scrapings of a red baked brick, and as the instruments reduced the distance of a span—which usually exists between our eyes and the objects we closely observe—to about a third of an inch, all commonplace dullness left these things, giving place to the beauty of variously tinted pieces of marble and crystal and coral, white and blue, pink and yellow, black and red, translucent and transparent, clean and pure every one of them. "Is this the lowly earth," I asked, "which made me feel so sad, and like itself, a short while ago, and which men are so anxious to shake off as dirt?"

It was indeed; but not till I looked more closely could I see it clothed with some of that light and colour which, reflected with greater splendour and beauty from a precious stone, and mixing with a more glorious harmony in a Himalayan sunset, reveals to us little of the joy and peace of the Eternal. Does not a crystal of common salt, assuming under the microscope a perfectly geometri-

cal shape, speak of a living intelligence working behind it? And looking thus at organic forms also, do we not begin to catch a glimpse of the Mind in Nature, if our intuitive sense has not yet been deadened? Thus distance alone does not lend a charm to things; a nearer view also reveals their beauty.

And yet we are looking at things—even through the microscope—from a great distance. How full of Divine Life would these things appear to us if we could see the thrill of their vibrating molecules and whirling atoms! As I thought thus, the voice once more said:—“Learn thou to look at things far and near with the eyes of the Spirit, if thou wouldst feel the joy of His life. Learn to silence the self within thee, if thou wouldst hear the transporting song of the Great Self within and without thee. Else, seen through the mere intellect, the whirl of His life in the atom of this or another sphere would become as commonplace to thee as the running waters of a brook, living to a poet, seem dead and mechanical to the scientist whose heart happens to be divorced from his head. Nay, the material habit of thought ignores life in the living organisms themselves, and tries to reduce even the metaphysical truth of the unity and simplicity of consciousness to a purely mechanical effect. Intellect alone will keep thee shut up in forms; the heart would bring thee in touch with life and lead unto Unity. What if thou knewest all forms, but thy heart was too isolated and atrophied to thrill in sympathy with thy surroundings? Cast out the self, and live for others if thou wouldst pass from death into life.” And I rose up and rejoiced.

UMRAOSINGH.

AN ADVERSE FATE.

(THE STORY OF AN INDIAN SINGER.)

Chapter IV.

SIX months after the incidents recorded, the inhabitants of a prosperous little village, not many miles from the scene of the foregoing occurrences, were engaged in celebrating the marriage of the son of their leading magnate to the daughter of a no less wealthy house in the neighbourhood. The guests were numerous and wealthy, and had foregathered together from many parts to honour Sirdar Bulwantrao Purandikar on so auspicious an occasion. The family was one of the most influential in those parts; but no less so were the bride's parents who claimed descent from the proud house of Nimbalkar, one of the most ancient and highly honoured in the entire Deccan. The scale of celebration, therefore, befitted the high rank and great wealth of the contracting parties, and the festivities extended over a period of several days, during which there was much feasting and rejoicing. The hall of the grand old house, gorgeously carpeted and upholstered with spotlessly white cushions, had been thrown open to the guests; and hither night after night assembled a large number of guests to watch the nautch-girls' dance, and partake of the hospitality of the worthy Sirdar.

One hour before midnight on the third day, however, an untoward event occurred. The musician was mechanically strumming his *Sitar*, the singers were drowsily trolling their choruses, and Bhimi, the prettiest of dancers, moved wearily to the music. Many of those present were contentedly dozing on their cushions, a still greater number had already departed to their homes, and only a few remained awake, talking together round a lamp at the farther corner of the room. While things were in this state a stranger entered the hall, and walked down its entire length, almost up to the little group of talkers. No one noticed him at first, but the sound of his voice soon attracted their attention. In the most matter-of-fact tone he asked for the Sirdar; and when the few near at hand had pointed him out from among them, in the same undisturbed manner he asked him to come out of his corner. Sirdar Purandikar, however, was not one to be commanded, especially in his own house, and he was at first inclined to treat the whole thing as the joke of some demented person. He was soon

enlightened. The command was repeated, this time with greater insistence, and a few of the sleepers started up in surprise at the interruption to their slumbers. The music had by this time ceased, and everyone was soon staring in open-mouthed astonishment at the Sirdar, who himself seemed to be the most perplexed of the whole group.

"Come here," repeated the man for the third time, in loud, angry tones, motioning him to approach with his hand.

The Sirdar still hesitated, and the man, losing patience, at length turned to the door.

"Here, Hari Rama," he called to one until then unnoticed, "bring the Sirdar to me." Then, addressing the dumb-founded inmates, he thundered out: "Whoever makes a noise or cries, dies instantly the death of a dog."

A sword, at that instant, drawn from under his cloak, added point to the threat, and those present then realised with a shudder that they were in the power of a daring and unscrupulous gang of dacoits. No soul in that whole assembly of a score or so of persons uttered a single word of protest. They understood to the full the penalty of disobedience, and so, like mutes at a funeral, they gazed in silence at the drama that was being enacted in their midst.

Hari Ram lost no time in obeying his chief's behest. A tall, athletic-looking man, deeply pock-marked and having the use of only a single eye which looked all the fiercer for its loneliness, he appeared a fitting instrument for the carrying out of such duties as now fell to his lot. In the Sirdar, however, he met with a stubborn customer such as he delighted to encounter. He came out without demur, and was made to squat down in the centre of the room.

"Bring here the two Sirdars Nimbalkar and the Pant of Wai," continued the dacoit chief.

The men were brought and were placed alongside the Sirdar Purandikar.

"Who are those others there?" asked the chief, pointing to a group of persons sitting not very far off, who cowered before his glance. "Bring them all here."

They were all brought there, most coming hurriedly of their own accord in hopes that their apparent willingness might dispose the robbers to deal mildly with them.

"Now," continued the dacoit, addressing those thus assembled, "place all the gold and silver ornaments you wear on this spot," indicating one with his sword.

The command was obeyed in fear and trembling. While the pile was growing momentarily, two other dacoits appeared on the scene leading a third man.

"We caught this Marwari trying to escape through the back door," said they to the chief.

"Make him take his place in the line," answered the latter, "and knock him on the head if he attempts to escape again."

The Marwari sullenly took his place in the line, but made no show of parting with his jewels,

"Look sharp, over there," said the chief, addressing the pretty Bhimi, who was struggling painfully to remove the pearl nose-ring in which she felt such pride. The sound of his voice increased by tenfold the poor girl's agitation, and she began to whimper as she hurriedly and painfully wrenched the ornament off, and threw it bloodstained on the pile. Anklets, armlets, nose, finger and ear-rings, hair ornaments, and a variety of etceteras of gold and silver, some of great value, others worth only a few rupees, made up a pile of no mean dimensions. The Marwari, however, in the midst of all the commotion, still remained stubbornly in possession of his valuables.

"What! son of a usurious dog, are you not disposed to part with any of your ill-gotten treasures?" snapped the chief, noticing him. "Do you want me to do you any injury?"

The Marwari preserved a dogged silence.

"Here, you two," said the chief to the two who stood ready to carry out his commands. "Teach the fellow obedience. Knock down the swindling scoundrel and off with his nose. It will be a lesson to him to deal more leniently with his poorer customers the next time they go to him."

The order was obeyed on the instant. In a moment the man was thrown down, his hands held, and in spite of cries, entreaties and struggles, the tip of his nose was sliced off. A hideous bleeding figure emerged from the group after the operation.

"I thought you would learn obedience," observed the dacoit drily, as the man rose frantically, and began divesting himself of the ornaments on his person.

The hideous sight of his noseless face and bloodstained garments, a trying ordeal under even the most ordinary circumstances, became a tenfold source of terror to the horrified persons sitting there in solemn, awe-struck silence. One of the prisoners, quite overcome by the spectacle, and regardless of consequences, made a dash for liberty and got clear away. His career, however, was cut short by the watchers outside, and he was brought back, to undergo the penalty he so much dreaded. As a punishment for trying to escape, his nose too was cut off, and his companions then had to endure the ordeal of gazing on two of their number most cruelly disfigured.

"Sirdar Purandikar, Vinayek Nimbalkar, and Keshav Nimbalkar," said the chief dacoit, addressing his three principal prisoners, "we shall now hold you up to ransom. A thousand rupees each, to be paid down in silver. Do you wish to pay, or shall we do our worst. It is not the pleasantest of operations to have one's nose cut, you know," and the leader smiled grimly on his victims.

"We are in your hands, and you can work your will on us," answered Purandikar resignedly. "Yet I am willing to pay for myself and my relatives if that will save us from further outrage of the sort you have just inflicted on these poor wretches."

"You choose wisely," said the dacoit. "Only be quick with the money. One of my men will accompany you to see that all is square; and I need not remind you that he knows how to deal with treachery when he sees it."

The Sirdar was not long absent from the room. On returning, he dropped a bag near the foot of the dacoit. "There," said he, "is enough gold and silver in that to meet your demand."

"You need be under no apprehension of losing caste by touching me," said the dacoit, noting the action. "I am as good a Brahmin as yourself, Sirdar."

However, he did not lose any further time in useless talk, but took up the bag, while his men gathered together the ornaments and other trinkets placed on the ground.

"I have only one word of caution to give you all," said the leader, when he and his men stood ready to depart. "Let no one make a noise or leave this room for half an hour if he values his life. I have men handy, who will see that my injunctions are obeyed ; so beware." With that he took his departure, wishing the Sirdars long life and prosperity for their newly-married children.

For close upon an hour the terror-stricken company sat in that room with the evidence of the recent dacoity before them. Bhimi, the little dancer, was stretched in a dead swoon on the floor, and not far from her lay the second victim of the cruel outrage, similarly prostrate. No one went to their assistance, for they were all too frightened to move ; but at length footsteps were heard in the passage, and the entry of a servant broke the spell that seemed to bind them. The lamentations that filled the house were then loud and long, and roused the whole village from slumber. The inhabitants turned out in force, armed with all manner of weapons, and while some dashed wildly through the streets, shouting loudly to the dacoits to come on, others fired off old rusty matchlocks and waved torches in the air to scare away the intruders. The latter meantime were miles off, safely hidden among the neighbouring mountains.

Chapter V.

When once a man takes the downhill track, he seldom, if ever, discovers his error until it is nearly too late. The impunity with which this and several similar dacoities were committed, emboldened the gang to such an extent that they went from one excess to another. There was no lack of recruits, as the prevailing scarcity had thrown many of the cultivator class out of work, and very little persuasion was needed to make these take to the road. The slight educational advantages possessed by Ganesh Puranik gave him the respect of his fellows, his superior caste was an additional claim to their regard, and when to these he joined a bold and fearless disposition that carried him into enterprises which most of the others shrank from encountering, it is easy to perceive how he came to command his fellows. Life, he felt, had no longer any interest for him ; he had lost his all when death crossed his threshold, and if the trial had left him somewhat callous, hard-hearted and cynical, fate must be saddled with the responsibility. Yet one good trait the singer never lost, even at the worst period of his career : he never robbed or ill-treated the poor, and women had no reason to fear for life or honour when he was near.

The gang established a perfect reign of terror in the districts in which they operated, and hundreds leaving house and lands hurried to the more secure refuge of the larger towns. Matters could not long continue in this state, and Government was at last brought to take serious notice of the state of lawlessness in the parts mentioned. A strong column of armed police was sent out with orders to break up and disperse the gang and bring its members to justice; and an able young officer was placed in charge of the party. The dacoits had early intimation of its approach, and retired into the mountains. A reward of Rs. 5,000, Ganesh found, was offered for the capture of himself or any of his three lieutenants, dead or alive; and now that the game was coming his way in right earnest, he resolved to make a determined effort to preserve his liberty. Accordingly, he shifted his camp continually, always keeping to the hills, and seldom or never venturing down to the plains. This went on for near a month; but then one day news reached him that Balla Ramji, his most trusted henchman, and half a dozen followers, who had ventured into a village to buy provisions, had been surprised and captured. It was a smart piece of work, and showed plainly the temper and vigilance of their new enemy.

Hastily quitting their camp, Ganesh and the remainder of his gang that very night tramped off to a place forty miles away, where they hid themselves in a cave. Here they lay *perdu* for more than a fortnight, when, feeling somewhat secure from having given their enemy the slip, they ventured to look about them. It was the season of the *Dasara* festival, and the old religious instincts of the singer tempted him into the village near by to make a votive offering at the temple as a sort of thanksgiving to the deity for preserving him so long from harm. The place was a small out-of-the-way hamlet, nestling among the hills. It had only a scanty population, and no regular police; hence the arrival of an armed force was sure, he knew, to attract attention and be a subject for general remark. Secure in his retreat, Ganesh ventured down with a few companions, and spent a couple of hours wandering about the village, talking to the inhabitants and making some trifling purchases in the bazaar. Towards noon they betook themselves to the little village temple to rest and prepare their meals. It was a relief thus to get out and forget their troubles for a brief space, and so they made the most of their opportunities, exploring the ancient, rock-hewn temple, admiring its beautiful workmanship, and speculating on its probable age. They were not pressed for time, as they had the whole day in which to enjoy themselves. By-and-bye they set about cooking their midday meal, and then they rested under the shade of a wide-spreading peepul tree sacred to the spot, as are all such. There, fanned by the gentle breezes of heaven, secure from attack, and with leisure to look about him, Ganesh thought of his past life—the temple of Maruti, the plague, his wife and child and mother, now, alas! no more; and all the circumstances that led up to his change of life—ah! how everything surged up before him now. How he wished and longed for the old life again, the blameless life which he had led as a singer in his native town! Gentle sleep at length wooed his eyelids, and he dreamed of home. His wife

and child were once more beside him, and burning tears of joy rolled down his cheeks as he caught up one and then the other, and kissed each in turn. What happiness it was to be once again in their midst, to feel them near him and to know that all his troubles and anxieties were at length at an end! But ah! the delusiveness of hope! His dream all at once vanished with a rude shock. All his vivid imaginings were suddenly dispelled as he felt some one stumble heavily against him and seize his throat. With the quick instinct of self-preservation he tried to break away, but found himself held captive by a pair of strong arms. Then the truth flashed on him: his time had come. He made another desperate attempt to get off, but was quickly handcuffed and secured.

The sound of the scuffle had meantime roused the other men, who started up, and seeing what had happened to him, endeavoured to escape. The sharp crack of a revolver followed by a couple more, sounded close in Ganesh's ear, and simultaneously two of his men dropped to the ground, while a third, staggering a moment, disappeared, limping painfully.

"If you attempt to escape," said the one who held Ganesh, turning then to him and pointing the still smoking revolver at his forehead, "I'll blow your brains out. *Mum* is the word for you."

The tone of voice at once revealed to Ganesh his captor. It was the young English police officer, cleverly disguised as a Hindu. Ganesh was assisted to his feet and made to stand while his wrist was securely lashed to that of the Englishman. While this was being done, the singer noticed that a companion of his was also a prisoner in the hands of a native Jamadar. The two were made to stand together while the Jamadar went up to inspect the prostrate forms some little distance off.

"They are both dead," said the man, turning them over. "We can tell the village patel as we go along to have them buried." With that he came up, and the four marched off.

The news of the capture spread far and wide on the country side, and as they marched back under a strong escort, hundreds of the simple village folk, who had lived for months in mortal dread of their depredations, came out to see them pass. Ganesh had undergone quite a remarkable change since he left home close upon a year ago. He was then a somewhat delicate looking man, always neat and clean, and, like the orthodox of his caste, smooth-shaven on the crown. The man who now trudged along, heavily ironed and securely guarded, was of robust build. Exposure had hardened his frame, and the active life he had so long led had helped to knit his muscles together in greater solidity. His sole garment now was a loincloth, dirty, stained and weather-worn; his beard had grown out into a dark, shaggy mass that quite altered the expression of his features, and his hair, rough and unkempt, hung about in a great wavy mass.

The party struck the railway at a small roadside station and were soon speeding back to the town which had seen the rise of all his woes. Here again they were the centre of curiosity. Hundreds of townsfolk hurried out to see them, and among these Ganesh recognised many

of his former friends and acquaintances. There was Ganpat Phansay, now revelling in the delights of his first B. A.; Vinayek Sathe, but recently over his matriculation; Nilkant Agashe, who the month before had received five rupees increase to his salary; and old Luxumonrao Nagarkar, still a dweller in the ground-floor room of the well-known *wara*. They were all there to see the dacoits, and gazed on him in astonishment and whispered among themselves.

The trial was not long delayed. Fifteen of the gang had been captured, and they were all charged together. Under a strong escort of mounted and dismounted police they were driven to the court-house, a large crowd of eager spectators again awaiting their arrival. Not a single pitying face was, however, turned on Ganesh as he stepped out of the prison van. With heavy, clanking irons, guarded at every step, he ascended the stairs leading to the place where his fate was to be decided. A moment he paused at the top to rest himself and regain his breath; and then a soft sobbing at one side made him turn his head. There, within a few feet of him stood his wife and little son, both weeping bitterly.

The sight staggered Ganesh. For a moment he stood irresolute, and then with a loud cry, he tried to rush forward. A European officer gently but firmly restrained him. "She's my wife, Saheb!" he cried, bursting into tears. "My wife!"

"I am very sorry," answered the other.

But the European's better feelings soon overcame him, and Ganesh was able to speak to her when he found his voice.

"How are you and the little one?" he asked eagerly, making the most of his time; "and where is mother?"

"We are both well," said his wife between her sobs. "Mother died of plague."

"Don't cry," continued Ganesh affecting to smile. "Take care of little Rambhao. How big he is looking!"

The mother held up the little fellow fondly; but the interview, all too brief, had lasted long enough, and the prisoners were told to move on.

All through that long trial Ganesh Puranik stood in the dock as one dazed. He answered mechanically the questions that were put to him, his whole attention being engrossed by the wife and child whom he had given up for lost, but who had been so unexpectedly restored. The end at last came. He was found "guilty" of committing dacoity with violence by a jury of his countrymen, and was sentenced with his companions to five years' rigorous imprisonment. For a second or two his heart failed him as the judge pronounced sentence; but the sight of his weeping wife and innocent child roused him to exertion.

"Be of good hope," he whispered as he was being led away. "I shall work out my time, God willing, and join you and the boy. Meantime, take care of him." And Ganesh Puranik marched with a heavy heart, but strong in hope.

[THE END.]

S. A. KENNEDY.

OLD SIGNS AND THEIR ROOT MEANINGS.

I WAS interested in the article in *EAST & WEST* for May, on the significance of the signs "o" (zero) and "—" (minus) and the sacred Sanskrit syllable "AUM." I propose here to take up the subject in order that the attention of the learned contributor, as also of your readers generally, may be drawn to certain aspects of it, which may probably appear to them new, if not singular, and to the thoughtful student of prehistoric researches not a little suggestive.

To those who are deficient in historic imagination, that is to say, in the power of placing themselves in the state of mind of other ages and climes, and especially times prehistoric, the speculations here indulged in will, no doubt, appear extravagant. To unlearn is always more difficult than to learn, and few are the persons who will be able to translate themselves, in thought, in the midst of social conditions in which the sense of what we call decency was as completely absent as it still is amongst the lower animal creation. Sentiments, which it is now impossible to shake off under any circumstances, thanks to inherited instinct and invariable custom, could not, however, conceivably have existed for ages upon ages in the beginning of Society, when man and woman went about in a state of nature, taking no thought whatever of what they were about, and even much later, when sex operations and the mysteries of birth and death were the highest and deepest marvels to their dawning intelligence. Sounds, words and ideas which that state of existence called forth would necessarily remain indelibly stamped for ever upon social and mental evolution, and were bound to be the heritage of all later humanity. They would become the mother-moulds of beliefs and practices which, however rationalised in later times,

would have a recognisable reference to the sources from which they originally sprang; indeed, it is difficult to see how it could have been possible completely to get rid of them or to travel out of them. All that exists in thought, language, beliefs and practices is indissolubly bound up with all that has preceded, and "the Present is the fatal daughter of the Past" in a wider sense than the late Laureate meant when coining that phrase, disguise the fact however you may. The simplest sounds, exclamations and words are the oldest things upon the earth, as old as the hills, the rivers and the woods. The words *child* ꠠꠢ ꠠꠢꠢꠢ ꠠꠢ ꠠꠢꠢꠢ still betray their origin precisely as does the words *infant* and Fr. *enfant*, and so does ꠠꠢꠢꠢ (husband) as the breather of the breath of life in the mother-mould. So ꠠꠢ (ma)=No=Don't, and ꠠꠢꠢ (mam) water and ꠠꠢ (ma) mother, as in "mamma," Maya=Kindness and Maya=Illusion still betray their identity of origin, as the mother is at once the genitrix, the water-bearer (physiologically), the source of kindness, but, like water, mere nothing—an illusion, as she came to be regarded in relation to her masculine partner. Here *womanhood*, *water* and *negation* are all combined in one and the same expression. The relevancy of all this will, it is hoped, appear further on. There is no travelling out of the oldest word roots, and though you may pour other and finer ore into the primal thought-moulds, still the shape and figure of the new material or product will betray the fashioning and shaping mould. It will be objected that one sole idea is made to do duty for a variety of others, a charge sometimes flung in the teeth of speculations like the above. The answer to this is that, in the beginning, at all events, of human evolution, it would be next to impossible for the untrained mind to travel out of a particular view which had taken dominant possession of it; that all Evolution in its very nature means reference of later developments to the earlier facts, and it is difficult to conceive, if there was to be any evolution, any unfolding at all, how this reference could be avoided. Even to this day, as only a little reflection will show, progress is the slow but sure outcome of some one or other predominant idea filling for a time the mental vision, and later ideas are seen but to evolve the content of the originals. And who can say, to mention only one instance, that the whole of the content of the modern idea of ether-waves has been exhausted by the discoveries of Röntgen and Marconi? The

new and the unknown can only be expressed in terms of the known, and the abstract in terms of the concrete—the prior in point of evolution. There is no way of expressing the abstract except by and through the concrete, be the latter however gross, though time may wipe out more or less the memory of the concrete and the word of concrete origin may in the end come to be a mere symbol until the concrete reference is reawakened in the process of analytical thought.

If anyone fears to be scandalised by the opprobriousness of the points of view presented to him here, he is welcome to turn away from these pages. He cannot care to seek for the beginnings; let him be content with his decencies and conventionalisms.

And now to begin. As to the sign "o," it must be remembered that it is both positive and negative. Placed before a figure, as in decimal notation, it is negative, but placed after a figure, as for instance, in the figure "10" (ten), it is positive, indicating a state of completion. How came this about?

It will not require much evidence or reasoning to show that primitive reckoning was digital, and the adding to the fingers of one hand the fingers of the other hand meant "complete" or "all"—an idea far from a mere negation; and two hands meant "all" in ancient Egypt. But the "all" was also represented, for obvious reasons, by the circle or sphere comprising in itself all dimensions, and of which the visible symbol was the celestial dome overhead. Placed after "1" (one) as in the figure "10" (ten), it meant completion of the first stage of digital reckoning. Placed after "2" as in the figure "20" (twenty), in the further development of reckoning, it meant completion of the second stage, and so on. Here the concept is positive, or if negative, so only in the sense of a pause, a period, a stage.

For the really negative sense of "o" we have to go to another source. In the Egyptian hieroglyphics "no," or negative, is symbolised by the form of waving, flowing water, and this sign also meant death, as water puts an end to all breathing life, and breath is life. Now water has relation also to a physiological fact connected with opening womanhood. Hence woman in ancient Egypt came, in relation to the male, to symbolise negation, privation, mere non-entity, from the time male supremacy became an acknowledged fact. She was a nought, a cipher. Indeed, at a later phase of thought, she

came to be considered as a positive drag upon the source from which tribal life was supposed to be renewed, namely, the Tribal Soul ; and thus, it has been said, "the Khonds of India, who had not got beyond the general Ancestral Soul of the tribe, held that woman was not a productive soul at all, and they actually killed the female children, because they shared the *Ancestral Soul* without contributing to the reserved stock, thus robbing the males of a portion of their own proper soul. If they reserved all the virile soul to themselves they were brave enough to capture women from other tribes, and such (says Mr. Massey) was their argument in defence of female infanticide in their own tribe." This probably was the real origin of female infanticide, and a justification of it, long before more practical considerations in favour of the practice supervened. Thus, it would seem, the cipher had definite connotations attached to it from the earliest times, and it was the existence of these in the tribal consciousness, if not in actual use, which enabled those who followed, be they Indians, Assyrians or Egyptians, to turn them naturally to account in the later development of mathematics. When the need for the signs arose, those already existing were available, only in altered content—a differentiated subject.

The appropriateness of the circle or round figure or a point in relation to the female, as the appropriateness of one upright line or lines in the case of the male, has not to be conceived merely in the abstract, but can be seen actually illustrated every day one comes across a Hindu man or woman with his or her peculiar and differential *tilak* or head mark.

I think 'Zero' lays undue stress upon the mark in 10 and its multiples and in decimals being in the form of 0. The mark, as a mark, might have been any other than 0. It might have been, as it was among the Romans, an X, and might, equally with 0, have signified in the one case the positive, in the other the negative position. The point of real importance was not that the mark pitched upon was 0 (zero), but that it was the decimal system of notation that was adopted, making 10 and its multiples the foundation of the system. But this was only because all reckoning was digital and the mark 0 marked the close of the first stage of it.

There are two other signs, however, which have played, and continue to play, a most important part in higher mathematics, and all

that it implies in the domain of physical science. These are the algebraic signs + (plus) and — (minus), and the question arises here also as to their origin and initial conception.

Now it would seem as if there could be no difficulty in regard to the origin or meaning of the sign +, which is the sign of addition. The suggestion as to adding is obvious on the face of the mark. The sign itself consists of one line *superposed* upon another. It is already an addition in itself. It is submitted, however, that the matter does not end here. There is nothing in the sign necessarily to suggest addition, for which purpose things added would naturally be placed together or side by side. To get to the root of the matter, we must ask, how came one line to be *superposed* on another at right angles?

It seems highly probable that the plus sign “+” is an adaptation of the cross symbol. This symbol appears to have existed from the remotest times, and to have been suggested in and by the daily, monthly, yearly and cyclical crossing of the horizon by the stars and the solar and lunar orbs: their setting below one horizon and their re-rising over another; their apparent tribulation, decline and death when setting, and their equally apparent rebirth when rising again. And four of these points became, for obvious reasons, of particular importance, namely, the points of the Equinoxes and the Solstices, marking, as they did, and still do, the chief turning points in the vicissitudes of the solar orb. The sign “+,” therefore, came to represent the combination of a fall and a rising, of decrepitude and rejuvenescence, of death and resurrection. The horizontal line represented the decline and death, the upright one the re-rising and re-birth of the Lord of light, heat and natural creation, and the union of the two was the representative of fulness. These meanings have been obviously reproduced in the later cross of faith, which in one—the earlier—phase, to this day represents the Lord’s passion and death, and in another—the later—represents his resurrection and perfect fruition. Here was the suggestion of two combined elements ready to the hands of those who, in the fulness of time, turned this ancient cross symbol into the algebraic sign “+.”

Nor is it difficult after this to conceive why the minus sign “—” should be what it is. It is simply the horizontal component of the plus sign. It is, in other words, the line of passivity, decline and weakness—in short, in early thought and mental strivings to under-

stand creation, the woman's line of negation and privation. Here again the concepts attaching to the symbol existed of old as part and parcel of communal consciousness, ready to be turned to account in the fulness of time for any purposes to the elucidation of which it was by its nature adapted, and one purpose to which it did so lend itself was that of the negative sign in mathematics.

The marvel is not merely what the zero, and plus and minus signs, 0, +, — have achieved and are achieving in the domain of pure mathematics, and through them of applied science, but also how in the simplicity of natural phenomena, symbols founded in bare nature first took root and became a part of man's mental furniture. It is as if some Occult Power from the first took the hand of man and led him on from the most rudimentary material contacts to conceptions of a higher and higher order, so that, all human progress is now seen to be but the march of the mind, an evolution of the spirit helped on by physical signs and symbols of the most elementary kind, serving as mere crutches for the spirit to rest on, or as mere pegs and labels which the spirit, in its fatal association with and dependence on a physical sensorium, and in the material surroundings in which it found itself placed, has striven to realise itself these hundred thousand years or more! This, however, is an aspect of the question which others would be better able to deal with. To ordinary intelligence the simple "no" is indeed too simple and elementary to admit of a learned discourse upon it; but it is really astonishing, as students of philosophy need hardly be told, what a fundamental place in mental evolution, indeed, in the evolution of the Universe, the simple No—the principle of negation, the principle of limitation—has filled, and how, without this concept, there would conceivably be nothing, so much so, that it was not a mere mental conceit when a thoughtful writer called negation half of the Universe. Nor need your readers be reminded of the most stupendous system of metaphysics and theory of cosmical creation ever given to the world, the keynote whereof is the union of Being and Nothing in the sphere of Evolution. The *not*, the limitation, of unity is involved in the "manifold of experience" which is the ultimate definition of created existence, and the one problem of philosophy has always been, not that the manifold of experience is and must be, but how and why it has been at all,

seeing that it is a negation of what the human mind cannot but conceive as fundamental Unity, and must, therefore, be a mere phenomenal illusion and nothing more. And here, let no reader feel hurt at what has been said about the sign of the cross. The Christian freethinker may no doubt regard it as making against the view of his orthodox brother, but the latter can with equal justice claim in the pre-existence of the sacred sign of his faith a distinct foreshadowing of the Divine Drama and Dispensation that were in the fulness of time to be enacted and given, as if the scheme of man's ultimate salvation on earth had been of purpose interwoven in the very nature of cosmic phenomena and man's earliest strivings to understand them. And after all is said that can be said, is it really an idle fancy and not an insight into the scheme of things to assert that whatever comes to be in the way of higher evolution existed from before, as so many archetypes, and that events which are the landmarks of history are but the successive realisations of these in the secular "To be"? And the scientist is entitled to all the satisfaction he can derive from this elevated conception of the scheme of the cosmos, even as the man of faith is entitled to a like satisfaction at finding the main feature of that faith foreshadowed in the secular past.

The subject of the ineffable syllable or sound "AUM" must be reserved for a future occasion. The origin, meaning and fortunes of that symbol constitute in themselves, to my mind, a subject of fascinating interest, and if the sign "o" (negation) has had the rôle above described the sound ॐ has had a still wider rôle.

ARTAXERXES

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Long long ago, even before the *Pralaya* or the great deluge was to set in, Brahama, the Creator, sang the Vedas in his own inimitable way, to an enraptured audience of holy sages and saints, and erudite scholars. These were so transported with joy that they could think of no other bliss as worth attaining, but would listen to the divine recitation for ever and ever. It seemed as though the earth itself was singing, and the sun and the moon, the stars and the planets were keeping time; the music was so resonant that all the other worlds, above and below and around, were filled with it, while the Devas stood gazing in deep admiration. There were also present there most of the animal creation, drawn to the spot by an irresistible impulse. Each of them enjoyed the music in its own way, the birds enjoying it the best; while even the bat, which was then, as it is now, neither bird nor beast, drank in the divine notes with alacrity. The ass hung down its head and tried to catch these strange sounds, trusting as little as possible to its innate sense of music. The bull and the cow stood curling up their tails and distending their nostrils with delight, while the elephant took in the music by waving its ears to and fro. The fox crouched and smelt the music, while the dog barked gently its bark of appreciation, and the wolf devoured the song divine with a look of fierce joy. The high mettled horse pranced and neighed gallantly, while the bear and the tiger clutched their claws in clumsy gratitude. The lion sat by itself, and by a majestic wave of the mane now and again showed that it was by no means indifferent to the merits of the performance. But the birds, as we have said, were the most sympathetic listeners; the eagle, the owl, the parrot, the peacock, the crane, the cuckoo, the lark, the crow; even the bee and all the rest of its tribe, perching on

trees high and low, whistled and chirped and crowed, hummed and hooted and kept up their peculiar notes of joy in diverse ways. But, be it said to the credit of them all, that they all marked their appreciation in a subdued manner; otherwise, the chorus would have led to manifest inconvenience.

This sublime musical recital went on for days, during which the sun forgot to go down the horizon (so there was no night) and when the music ceased, in the infinite wisdom of the Creator, there was at first a universal hush, and then an outburst of universal acclamation, so loud and so varied that it somewhat startled the divine Singer Himself. The lion roared, and the ass brayed, the dog barked and the cat mewed, and all the birds also joined the chorus, each in its own fashion; it was, in fact, the sound of creation let loose, and was in perfect contrast to the music that had just ceased. Then, as Brahama was about to take his departure, the fox, stepping forward humbly, begged to know whether as a reward for having listened to the divine discourse, the audience were not to have some boon granted them by the great Rewarder of merit? Brahama smiled encouragingly, and turning to the vast congregation said: "If all of you will ask for one single boon, it shall be granted." For a moment there was suspense in the miscellaneous assembly, when the fox, turning to them, said, "Brethren, we shall all be men." "That is it," "That is it," joined in the beasts in a perfect babel of sounds. "Granted," said Brahama, the god of few words, and he turned to go. A sudden thought now seized the fox, and again it sprang forward, and crouching low, begged to be permitted to ask one more question. "What! not yet satisfied?" asked Brahama. "Perfectly," replied the fox, "I only want to know, O benign Giver of gifts, if all of us are to become men, how can the fox be recognised as fox, the dog as dog, the wolf as wolf, and each as each such? There will be little good, O Knower of all knowledge, if the fox and the ass become equally men and cannot distinguish each other." "True," admitted Brahama, "you shall be known each by the profession you follow." At this turn of the conversation which the fox, as spokesman of the beasts, was carrying on, the birds became uneasy lest their rivals should gain any undue advantage. So they flew to Brahama, and pleaded in one voice that they must be granted some sort of preference, since the All-knowing god knew well that none of the beasts could have enjoyed his heavenly strains half so keenly as

themselves, music being their own sphere, even as the broad heavens were their abode. And then, let the other gods like what they will, is it not one of the birds, the *hamsa*, that has the privilege of being Brahama's *vahan* or carrier? Brahama, looking almost convinced, turned to the fox as spokesman of the beasts. "We were, O Father of all, and ever impartial to all alike, we were," put in the fox, "here on the ground, on the blessed land trodden by thy sacred feet, and wholly lost in thy music, while these birds, like foreign spies and conspirators, hid themselves among the leaves and hung by the branches of trees, swinging with merry laughter." As the fox finished and humbly bowed, feeling the triumph of his successful extempore oration, there was a gentle murmur of approval in the vast gathering of beasts. "All right," said Brahama, turning to the birds, "for the reason you have mentioned, your aptitude for music, you shall enjoy special advantages such as rarely fall to the lot of these beasts. But for the reason that the fox has mentioned, you shall not have your home in this holy land, but shall come from afar and then go back, having had all your joys here." As Brahama finished, the bats came forward in a body, and demanded, neither with the cunning humility of the beasts nor with the open arrogance of the birds, but in a manner that marked bitter resentment, whether they were to go with the birds or with the beasts, Brahama looked at them and said: "True to your present lot, you shall go with neither; your home will be in this land, with the beasts of the soil, but your plumage, which is your dress in other words, and your flight, which is your aspiration, shall be with the birds. Hence you shall not be counted with the beasts, although born in their land,* nor with the birds, although you affect their ways so much. Go, now, all of you, beasts and birds and bats, you may all depart," said Brahama. "One more prayer, O Lord of all," began the fox again, who all this while was immersed in thought. "What! you are endless in your asking?" said the god rather gruffly. "Have I nought else to do than with birds, beasts and bats." "Not so, O Greatest of the greatest! not so!" rejoined the fox; "if we miss now, when again can we hope to have another such occasion?" "Well, proceed," said Brahama. "O Lord of all," began the fox, "the Greatest of the greatest, the most magnanimous of them all; you who grant boons to gods, and you"— "Quick, and be done once for all," said the now

impatient god. "Yes, O Lord of all," continued the diplomatic fox, "assign our professions now, so that we may be happy, happy even during the deluge that is to come." "You do not know what you are asking!" said Brahama. "My prostrations, O Lord! my prostrations," whined the fox, "so that we may just know what our professions will be like." And all the beasts simultaneously cried "Our prostrations, O Lord! our prostrations." Even Brahama looked perplexed for a thousandth part of a second, and then said, "To begin with, you, you fox, shall be a minister, and go under the diverse names of Dewan, Kamdar, Sheristadar, etc., etc." (here the fox bowed low with glum satisfaction.) And there was the ass hanging down its head, and Brahama said to it, "You ass, you shall be what they call gumasta, or clerk, uncomplaining, patient, and burden-bearing." "And I?" asked the wolf peremptorily; and Brahama quickly replied, "The Policeman." "And we?" simultaneously barked two dogs. "You shall be," replied Brahama, "what they call lawyers and pleaders, fighting for your fees and keeping a watch on the wolf." And there was the draught bull, rejoicing in its strength, and Brahama said to it, "You bull, you who rejoice in your strength, you shall become jaded and work as munsiff or subordinate civil judge. And you, monkey, you shall play pranks, and as you judged the cats in the story, you shall judge the people as well as munsiffs and the sub-judges. And you elephant, you who, in your bulk, carelessly walk the woods, shall be known as Zemindar, Taluqdar, Jaghirdhar, &c.; and you bear, you shall pass under the name of the Sowcar, burrowing for interest. And you, prancing horse, you shall be gaily attired and led to dances and parties and fêtes and festivities, as Raja and Maharaja, but held under reins tight and strong. And you, camel, you shall plod through the desert of knowledge, with water in your stomach for food, crooked and hunch-backed and out of harmony with the other professions, turning up your nose at everything, with the burden of the future on you, and you shall be known as teachers and masters." Here the cat mewed from its corner, and Brahama, calling it out, said, "You, mewing cat, you shall go to persons who from odd corners mew like you; you shall visit house after house, and mix up things, and at times break the vessel of human life, and you shall be known as doctors and hakims and v aids." Here the sheep, the goat and their kind browsed by the side of Brahama

and cried "Ba, Ba." And Brahama said, "You sheep and your kind, you shall be used to fatten others, as you are even now doing. You shall be the *ryots* on whom all the rest fatten. This decree, O beasts, shall suffice for the present," finished Brahama.

And forthwith, in one shrill voice the birds cried, "For us, for us." And Brahama, looking at them, said : "And you, O birds, that fly over waters to this holy land, you shall go under dazzling names, to suit your dazzling wings, and be known as Civilian and Military officers, as Secretaries, Councillors and Commissioners, as Residents, Political Agents and the like. Parrot-like, you shall speak what others have taught you (here the fox opened its eyes wide), eagle-like, you shall have your own view ; peacock-like, you shall spread yourselves out for pleasure ; lark-like, you shall enjoy yourselves in splendid isolation. Chief among you shall be the ostrich, to be known hereafter as the baneful bureaucrat ; and the tribe of locusts shall be his emissaries, to be recognised as patels, kulkarnis, chaprasis, &c. But among you there shall also be the crow, the owl and the wood-pecker, that will caw and hoot and peck ; and these shall seek to prophesy, criticise, proselytise, safeguard, ensure and assure ; and they shall be known as platform orators, journalists, missionaries, tourists, political touts. And among you also shall be the bees that shall gather honey from the flowers of the land and take it to their own hives, and they shall be known as merchants. This, O birds, is your decree." Scarcely had the god ceased when the bats fluttered between the birds and the beasts. And Brahama said : "O ye bats ! born in the land of the beasts, but affecting the habits of birds of passage, slighting the former and slighted by the latter, you shall envy each of them by turn and shall have what is spared by each." This said, Brahama waved his hand and turned to depart, when behold, there moved out a huge mysterious column, till then unnoticed. The serpent came, the scorpion came, the frog, the rat, the bandicoot, the mosquito, the worm and other reptiles, the germs, the microbes, the bacilli, and all sorts of noxious, vaporous, poisonous, clammy, slimy, filthy, livid, limpid millions ; they came hissing and buzzing, stinging and swinging, foaming and fuming and frothing, scratching, creeping, crawling and hiccougging ; and Brahama, when he beheld them, said in a tone of stern forbidding command, "Go, go ! and be in the world as you are, but in the shape of

men, a crawling danger, a moving poison—thiefs, dacoits, murderers, cheats and sharpers, bribe-givers and bribe-takers—at once the fear and the disgrace of the rest.” The huge mass fell back, when Brahama beheld the lion getting up leisurely and majestically shaking his mane. The monarch of the forest gave a mild roar when the whole of the subject creation held back with awe. As he came with easy strides and stood before the Creator to hear his decree, Brahama, pleased with this noble creation of his, said in a half-sad, half-proud tone, “Be thou, O monarch of the beasts, a ruler of men, at once capable and courageous.” This said, Brahama turned quickly to go, lest he should be still detained, when behold, again, the sly fox running up and stretching itself upon the ground, holding all its paws up and beseeching with eyes and face alone, without a word, even without an audible sound, holding its breath as if in reserve. Brahama looked at it inquiringly, when the clever little creature said, “O Author of all, curse me if I make another request after this one. And should you, O Lord magnanimous, refuse this, behold we, all, all of us, birds, beasts and bats, and reptiles and all, will be in utter darkness for ever more.” “What is it?” asked Brahama. “O Lord of all,” began the fox, with a look which it never had before, “O Lord of all, as those human beings you have decreed us to be in the world to come, we shall all be in the human shape—foxes, asses, dogs, wolves, monkeys, eagles, vultures, parrots, owls, serpents, scorpions, bandicoots. O Lord of all, is there no escape from this pseudo-human state?” “But,” said Brahama, “you prayed for it, and your prayer was granted that you should recognise your former selves as men.” “Yes, O Lord of Earth and Heaven,” humbly rejoined the fox, “we prayed for it in our folly, and what is granted is granted; but is there to be no salvation from that state?” “Yes,” came the reply, in a voice full of sublime melody, a strange combination of power and beauty, “ye, salvation there shall be, when no more, as men, you need your former natures, and when love unselfish rules you all.”

CURRENT EVENTS.

"PEACE, Peace, Peace!"—is the closing benediction pronounced at every Hindu ceremony. It is not found in the coronation service devised by Archbishops and Bishops in England, but the whole of the British Empire, and especially South Africa, is ringing to-day with the joyous acclamation: "Peace, Peace, Peace!"



That a King's coronation should take place a considerable time after his accession to the throne may be inevitable, inasmuch as grief for the demise of one Sovereign, and rejoicing at the succession of another, cannot be psychologically contemporaneous. A coronation Durbar, too, is intended to follow and cannot be held simultaneously with the coronation. But the postponement of the rejoicings on account of a coronation until some months after the festivity, looks very much like an aggravation of the artificiality of state rejoicings, and neither its utility nor its fitness is intelligible to those who cannot rise to the attitude of official wisdom. Perhaps it is intended that India must be self-contained, and must preserve the exclusiveness of her caste, instead of mingling with the rest of the Empire.



The poet, whose indignation at the iniquities of slave-owners in the West Indies grew to a white heat, beheld the avenging might of a mysterious Will, in the catastrophes of Nature, which now and then visited that part of the world:—

Oft o'er the Eden-islands of the West,
 In floral pomp, and verdant beauty drest,
 Roll the dark clouds of His awakened ire:
 Thunder and earthquake, whirlwind, flood and fire,
 'Midst reeling mountains and disparting plains,
 Tell the pale world—"The God of vengeance reigns."

But alas! to-day we cannot summon to our assistance even the poet's consolation, when we read the harrowing details of the awful disaster that has overtaken thousands upon thousands in the West Indies. Not less awful, if overshadowed

in point of numbers, must have been the fate of the six hundred and more coolies, who had barely left the bosom of their families, when they were sucked down—and we know not as yet to the contrary—into the waters of the terrible Bay of Bengal. O Manimekhala ! Thou that didst save the lives of mariners in days of yore, hast thou retired before the conquering might of Steam ?



Indebtedness is no respecter of persons. The poor ryot borrows—some say, to pay land revenue, and others, to spend over marriages and funerals—and he loses his land : the rich landlord also borrows and deprives himself of his patrimony. In the Northern and Western parts of India, legislation has been undertaken to prevent alienation of land by the poor ryot. The Madras Government has taken the rich zamindar under its protective wing. The latest measure introduced by it is a Bill to declare some 134 estates in Madras to be impartible and inalienable. According to the law, as laid down by the Privy Council, an impartible estate is *prima facie* alienable by the zamindar for the time being, though a custom of inalienability may be proved. There are ancient estates in Madras, which were at one time almost in the nature of principalities. A law, which declared that the holder of such an ancient estate could give it away, say, to the son of a concubine, if he so pleased, caused a flutter in the ranks of the aristocracy in the South, and the Government was moved to set the law right. A costly litigation to prove the impartibility and the inalienability of an estate may sometimes ruin it, especially if it is already encumbered. The Government proposes to step in, to prevent such litigation—a measure as beneficial as it is heroic.



As a straw, showing which way the wind blows, the appointment of an influential Committee of Hindu gentlemen in Bengal, to report on the best means of imparting female education on national lines, deserves mention. According to some, a Hindu lady who is taught to read the Puranas through, and nothing more, is well educated enough, on national lines. A line has length without breadth, saith Euclid. But the Committee in Bengal is not likely to be so very mathematical in its notions of female education.



If men seldom agree to differ in religion, there is another subject over which differences will not be easily closed, because of the depth to which it stirs one's feelings, and that is—Hunger. The cause of frequent famines and the remedy for them will for long remain a debatable theme of Indian politics. But there is one indubitable assurance, that if the Government take rigorously with the one hand,

it gives bounteously enough with the other. There were some millions on famine relief during the last great famine, there are a few lakhs now ; the south-west monsoon which bursts early this month may reduce it to a few thousands, at least for a time. But it appears as if the providing of relief against famine has become as perennial a feature of Government in India, as the collection of land revenue.



It may perhaps be conceded that the Boer has staggered humanity, but as we get to know more about him, we may one day find that he can shock humanity too. According to report, one of the demands of the Boers is that they should be allowed to keep their rifles as a protection against "natives and wild beasts." The combination is suggestive, but let us not be unfair to "brave friends," and let us see what they do with their rifles. Every man is a "native" of his country, and there is a world—at least a sea—of difference between the native of India and the native of South Africa ; but the conquering Westerner has given to the term a special signification, and a word, like a touch of nature, often makes portions of the world kin.



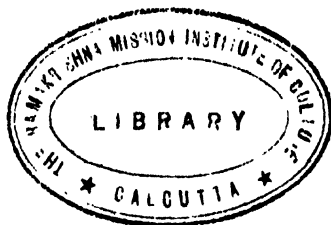
If England produced a Rhodes, America has produced Pierpont Morgan. Giants in conception, and as successful in execution as bold in speculation, they have set men a-thinking why none but the brave should deserve a nation's gratitude or the world's admiration. Cecil Rhodes shares his glory with Lord Roberts, and it may one day be asked why Pierpont Morgan should not be considered as great a man as any Admiral that ever commanded an American fleet.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF "EAST & WEST."

SIR,—In connection with what Mr. Jhaveri has said in your last number regarding the relations between the Gopis and Krishna, I beg to point out that Krishna—according to the Bhāgvat—was a little child when the alleged amours took place, and that, therefore, the whole story is probably intended to pourtray the passionate devotion of a Bhakta's soul to God. We have faint parallels in the lives of the many female saints of Roman Catholicism, who became brides of Christ; and in the "Directorium Asceticum" of Scaramelli, I find the following (see vol. i. p. 187): "A pious matron was assisting at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, in company with three devout maidens. After the consecration and elevation of the Sacred Host, she saw the Child Jesus on the altar, with His face all radiant with Glory. Soon she saw Him descend from the altar, and hurry to the spot where the three young ladies were kneeling. He was no sooner there than *He threw His arms round the neck of one of them, and pressing her lovingly to His heart, kissed her, and heaped caresses upon her.* Going to another, He raised the veil from her face, just enough to allow her to see Him, and to gaze lovingly upon Him. Then approaching the third, He seized her with one hand, and with the other began to strike her in the face." (The italics are mine). The author gives an interpretation of the three acts, and he is probably right. I commend the above passage to the attention of those who have forgotten that the Bhāgvat Rās Līlā is of the CHILD Krishna.

A BHAKTA.





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